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BRITISH HISTORY
PART IV

BY WILLIAM EDWARDS, M.A

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NOTES
ON
BRITISH HISTORY

BY
WILLIAM EDWARDS, M.A.
FORMERLY HEADMASTER OF MIDDLESBROUGH HIGH SCHOOL

PART IV
FROM THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES
TO THE END OF QUEEN VICTORIA'S REIGN
1783 to 1901

ELEVENTH IMPRESSION
SIXTH EDITION

RIVINGTONS
34 KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN
LONDON
1946

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by T. and A. CONSTABLE LTD., Hopetoun Street,
Printers to the University of Edinburgh

PREFACE

IT is found impossible in most English schools to devote more than two periods a week to the study of History, and teachers find considerable difficulty in doing thoroughly in the time allotted the work required for public examinations. This difficulty is increased in the case of those who attempt to deal with local records, with the development of civilisation and literature, and with contemporary European history.

The difficulty arises largely because in textbooks the chronological order is usually followed, and events and movements of considerable duration are treated not as wholes, but as portions of the reigns over which they extend. The adequate treatment of such subjects involves oral teaching, and either the dictation of notes in school or the copying of notes by the scholar out of school. The former plan unduly encroaches upon the short time available for actual teaching, the latter trespasses upon leisure time already seriously limited by home work.

These notes have been compiled in order to supplement the information given in the textbook and to lessen the amount of time devoted in school to the mere giving of notes. An attempt has been made to treat each subject fully (this has necessitated a certain amount of repetition), to bring out clearly the leading principles involved and to

indicate the exact part played by the actors. The notes are supplemented by references; those under heading A being to the standard histories and biographies which may be found in any well-equipped public library; those under B to short passages of prose or poetry suitable for reading aloud to the class and not included under A; those under C to historical novels and tales suitable for the scholar's private reading. But it is not intended entirely to obviate the writing of notes by the scholars, and there are some obvious omissions which must be rectified in class, while it is clearly impossible to give in a book like this any information on local history, the study of which adds greatly to the reality and interest of the general subject. No plans or maps have been included, and it is suggested that these should be copied into the scholar's notebook and that they should not be merely consulted in a text-book or atlas as occasion arises.

The notes comply, to a considerable extent, with the suggestions of the Board of Education as to the teaching of History, and are suitable for the Advanced Examinations of that Board. They deal with the leading events of contemporary European History, with the development of the Constitution, and with industry and agriculture. They may be used as headings for essays, and the references "A" will afford further material for the "practice in original composition" upon which the circular lays stress. An attempt has been made to select the most important questions and to indicate their chief features by means of the main headings. At the same time the sub-headings give fuller information for those who wish to study the subject in greater detail.

The History of the Nineteenth Century is receiving much attention in schools, partly because examining bodies have included it in their syllabuses, partly because of its intrinsic importance as a necessary qualification for good citizenship. It is realised that senior scholars ought to gain a knowledge of recent British History and some acquaintance with that of other countries, and that these subjects, which admit of very different opinions, are valuable means of developing logical thought. But it is essential that the teacher should adopt a neutral attitude, should try to present fairly all sides of a question, and should encourage his hearers to form their own judgments.

These notes are intended mainly for the use of scholars preparing for History Scholarships at the Universities, for the Oxford and Cambridge Higher Local, Higher Certificate, and Senior Local Examinations, for the Honours and Senior Certificates of the Central Welsh Board, Civil Service Examinations, the Irish Intermediate, the Scottish Leaving Certificates, the First Class of the College of Preceptors, the Civil Service, the Matriculation, Intermediate, and Pupil Teacher Examinations. It is obvious that much of the information given will be beyond the capacity of candidates for Junior Examinations, but it is hoped that the author's *Junior British History Notes* may prove useful for these.

In a number of schools it is not possible to find room on the staff for a specialist in History, and it is hoped that these notes, which are the result of considerable experience in teaching, may be found suggestive and helpful to form masters taking the subject whose main interest lies in other

parts of their work. While these Notes have been compiled mainly for use in schools, they may prove useful to those who, while not engaged in teaching, are interested in recent history.

Any suggestions for the correction and improvement of this work would be welcomed.

The author gratefully acknowledges the very kind help received from Rev. Alfred B. Beavan, M.A., of Greyfriars, Leamington, who has read the proofs of Part IV and offered much valuable criticism.

W. EDWARDS.

HIGH SCHOOL,
MIDDLESBROUGH.

FIFTH EDITION .

A number of additional references have been added to this edition.

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NOTES ON BRITISH HISTORY

PART IV

THE POLICY OF WILLIAM Pitt UP TO 1789

I. General Conditions.

- A. The American Revolution had doubled the National Debt, but had exercised a sobering effect on politics. A better tone appeared in the Opposition to the Coalition of Fox and North. The failure in America did not ruin England owing to
- B. The Industrial Revolution (page 626), which led to enormous increase in the wealth of capitalists and in the revenue of the country. [The labourers at first were very badly off; their sufferings led to great extension of Poor Law relief.]
- C. The influence of Adam Smith, whose *Wealth of Nations*, which appeared in 1776, deeply influenced Pitt. Politics and commerce were profoundly affected by his two important theories.
 - (1) The "Laissez faire" theory: the Government to make as few trade regulations as possible.
 - (2) The theory that not bullion but anything having an exchange value constituted wealth.

II. Pitt's Victory over the Coalition.

- A. Pitt was the representative of the King and the Constitution against the unpopular Fox-North Coalition, which aimed at dominating the King, but did not fully represent the ideas of the country.

B. Pitt, who was only twenty-four, accepted office as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer after the failure of Fox's India Bill and the consequent dismissal of the Coalition. The Whigs, still in a majority, ridiculed him and delayed the vote of supplies. Strong support of Pitt by the trading classes and the country generally—the "Tory University of Oxford as well as the Whig Corporation of London"—owing to the general hatred of the Coalition and to his integrity (although poor, he refused the Clerkship of the Pells, worth £3000 a year) and moderation.

C. 1784. At the general election 160 of "Fox's martyrs" lost their seats. Pitt was now supreme, but the triumph won was not that of the Crown, but of the country at large. Pitt worked in harmony with the King, but was not his instrument. He was "the most powerful minister since Walpole," depending for power upon the will of the people. The King did not like him, but accepted him as an alternative to Fox and the Whigs.

III. Pitt's Policy to 1789.

A. India.

- (1) Introduced the India Bill (page 625).
- (2) The impeachment of Warren Hastings. Pitt at first opposed, then supported the impeachment, owing to Hastings' treatment of the Rajah of Benares. His action was
 - a. Not due to personal jealousy of Hastings as a favourite of the King, who, if acquitted, might prove a rival of Pitt.
 - β. He acted conscientiously and probably changed his mind after examining the evidence.

B. France.

- (1) 1786. He made a commercial treaty between England and France based on free trade, and lowered duties on

English manufactures and French wines. This treaty was one of the greatest achievements of his early career.

- (2) He repudiated Fox's idea of the natural enmity of the two countries.

C. Domestic policy. Pitt was a Tory minister who introduced Liberal measures.

- (1) Parliamentary reform.

Although bribery of members of Parliament had ceased, Pitt appreciated the need of further reform, and proposed to disfranchise thirty-five "rotten" boroughs, to give £1,000,000 as compensation to owners, and to assign their members to the counties and to London.

His Bill was thrown out by the influence of the combined Tory and Whig boroughmongers, who dreaded interference with vested interests, and of others who were genuinely afraid of popular representation.

- (2) Finance.

Although the National Debt had been doubled by the American War, Pitt's wise financial policy restored the national credit. He was the first English minister to appreciate the importance of the development of manufactures as an element in politics, and adopted the idea of Free Trade, for which he was largely indebted to Adam Smith.

Pitt. a. Greatly reduced public expenditure.

1. Public loans were given out by tender and not to favoured individuals, and the Government thus secured the money it required at a cheaper rate.
2. Many sinecure offices were abolished.
3. An effective audit of public accounts was introduced.

3. Rearranged taxation.

1. He lowered the duties on spirits and tea, of which only half the amount consumed had hitherto paid duty, and passed a Hovering Act, extending the authority of Customs officers twelve miles from the coast. Smuggling thus became less profitable and more dangerous, and, as the decreased cost stimulated demand, the revenue from these duties increased considerably.
2. He, like Walpole, appreciated the value of Excise duties, and successfully imposed duties on various articles.

. Instituted a Sinking Fund, setting aside £1,000,000 a year to accumulate at compound interest, and to be used to pay off the National Debt.

1. This measure did much to keep up public confidence.
2. But later he unwisely maintained the Sinking Fund at a time when he had to borrow money at higher rates of interest to meet war expenses.

The results of Pitt's financial policy were very good. He effected considerable economy, promoted commerce, and restored national credit. As a result England became the paymaster of Europe in the wars with France, and Pitt's finance, together with the increase in wealth due to the Industrial Revolution, materially helped to overthrow Napoleon.

- (3) Pitt, like Walpole, did not repeal the Test and Corporation Acts. No great hardship was inflicted on Non-conformists, owing to the annual Indemnity Act, but a distinct grievance remained.

(4) The Regency Bill, 1789.

November, 1788. The King became insane. Fox maintained that the Prince of Wales, who had taken charge of the King's person, had an absolute right to the Regency, and hoped that if the Prince became Regent he would dismiss Pitt and place the Whigs in office. Pitt, while recognising that the Prince would become Regent, denied that he "had any right whatever" to the Regency, which must be bestowed by grant of Parliament.

January 31st, 1789. The Prince accepted the Regency on the conditions of the Government, which

- a. Forbade the Regent to bestow peerages except on members of the Royal Family;
- β. Limited his patronage to "His Majesty's pleasure";
- γ. Gave to the Queen the charge of the King's person.

The Regency Bill, including these conditions, passed the Commons, but was rendered unnecessary by

March 10th, 1789, the complete recovery of the King, owing to Dr. Willis' treatment.

Pitt had acted with great ability and had greatly strengthened his position by asserting the rights of Parliament against Fox's championship of prerogative.

(5) Pitt sympathised with Wilberforce in his opposition to slavery and supported restrictions and resolutions condemning the trade, but owing to the opposition of West India merchants of London, Liverpool and Bristol he did not abolish the slave trade or colonial slavery.

D. Ireland, 1785.

The Irish Parliament was corrupt and rejected reform. The Protestant landowners were supreme, the Roman

Catholic peasantry poor, and the secret societies formed to oppose these evils became very dangerous.

To improve the trade of Ireland, Pitt (1785) carried a Bill establishing Free Trade between England and Ireland, but many restrictions were inserted owing to the selfish policy of English merchants and farmers (fearing the competition of Irish cattle and manufactures), and the British Parliament kept control of commercial legislation. Therefore the Irish Parliament rejected the Bill.

E. Pitt's foreign policy to 1789.

His general aim was to check Russia (aiming at the conquest of Poland, extension of her power in the Baltic, conquest of Turkey, and extension of her power in the Black Sea) and the House of Bourbon.

(1) Holland.

Holland, owing to the influence of a strong anti-Orange French party, was friendly towards France and hostile to England. England and Prussia—(Frederick William II was the brother-in-law of the Prince of Orange the Stadtholder)—restored (1787) the Prince of Orange and broke the French influence. Pitt thus renewed the friendship with Prussia broken by Bute in 1763.

(2) 1788. The Triple Alliance.

Pitt formed a Triple Alliance between England, Prussia, and Holland—a most important and successful movement, which saved Sweden and checked Russian aggression in the Baltic.

(3) He induced Leopold of Austria to make peace with Turkey.

(4) He compelled Spain to give compensation for the destruction of a British colony at Nootka Sound, Vancouver, in 1790.

The French Revolutionary Government supported England in this owing to the influence of Mirabeau.

(5) He failed to make the Empress Katharine give up Ochakov on the Black Sea, because the English were not interested in the Eastern Question and feared that a quarrel with Russia would mean the loss of the Baltic trade.

Pitt thus restored the prestige of England, which had been impaired by the American War, and showed a statesmanlike appreciation of the importance of the Eastern Question. He was the first great English statesman to attempt to check the Russian advance towards Constantinople.

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Twelve English Statesmen: Pitt. Chaps. III. and IV.
William Pitt and the National Revival, by Rose. (Bell).
 Chaps. VI.-XVIII.

IRELAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

I. The Condition of Ireland.

- A. The Roman Catholics, the great majority of the population, had no share in political power.
- B. The Irish Nonconformists suffered great disabilities.
- C. The whole government of the country was in the hands of the Episcopalian aristocracy, who controlled the Lower House of Parliament and were members of the Upper, and this Protestant party strongly resented the dependence of the Irish Parliament on that of Great Britain. Ireland was thus governed by a "caste formed by a religious minority," who compelled the Catholics to pay tithes to the Protestant Episcopal Church.
- D. The peasantry, who cared little for Catholic emancipation and less for parliamentary reform, suffered greatly, especially in the south and west, owing to exorbitant rents and absentee landlords, and their hopeless poverty caused grave discontent.

- E. The Irish trade was hampered for the benefit of the English, e.g. the export of Irish cattle to England was forbidden.
- F. The example of the United States and the French Revolution roused the Irish to resistance.

Thus there were in Ireland "a corrupt aristocracy, a ferocious commonalty, a distracted Government, a divided people."

II. Attempts to improve the Condition of Ireland.

- A. 1782. The legislative independence of Ireland gained by Grattan and the "Protestant Volunteers," who had been originally enrolled to defend Ireland against an expected French invasion. This strengthened the position of the Protestant aristocracy.
- 1785. Failure of Pitt's attempt to improve Irish commerce by the establishment of Free Trade between England and Ireland (page 646).
- B. Formation of the "United Irishmen," including both Protestants and Catholics, by Fitzgerald and Wolfe Tone, to secure parliamentary reform owing to the gross corruption of the Irish Parliament. This society, which was greatly affected by the French Revolution, gradually became Separatist and tended to become revolutionary.
- C. 1793. Roman Catholics received the parliamentary vote, but not the right of sitting in Parliament.
- D. 1795. Earl Fitzwilliam, the Lord Lieutenant, "the Messenger of Peace from England," tried to bring about Catholic emancipation, but failed. He had made the Roman Catholics hope for a new system, and his failure greatly aggravated the discontent.

III. The Rebellion.

- A. December, 1796. Owing to the negotiations of the United Irishmen a French expedition, under Hoche, was sent to Bantry Bay, but a storm prevented the French from landing. If it had landed it would have endangered the

supremacy of England, and the knowledge that help might be expected from France led to a serious rising in

B. 1798. Ulster.

The rising was easily suppressed, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the leader of the United Irishmen, having previously been captured, 1798. Great atrocities were committed by "Orange"¹ soldiers searching for arms, hence

C. A Catholic rebellion broke out in Wexford.

A Roman Catholic camp was formed at Vinegar Hill. Father John Murphy led the rebels, and both sides displayed great bravery and gross cruelty. The camp was captured by General Lake on June 21st, 1798.

D. 1798. Connaught.

General Humbert brought help from France. He landed at Killala and defeated the militia at "Castlebar Races," but surrendered to Cornwallis, the Lord Lieutenant, at Ballinasloe.

E. Owing to the gross cruelty of the Roman Catholics and the proof of the uselessness of the French, Ulster became, and has always remained, loyal.

IV. The Union.

Cornwallis sternly punished the leaders of the rebellion, but showed leniency to the peasants. He saw that Catholic emancipation and the union of the Parliaments of England and Ireland were necessary for a settlement of the country and for the removal of the danger of interference from France.

A. The danger from the separation of the Parliaments (which made the King, as head of the executive, the only bond of union) had been shown in 1785, when the Irish

¹ The "Orangemen," the militant Protestant party, took their name from William of Orange, and strongly opposed the weakening of the Protestant ascendancy and Catholic emancipation.

Parliament threw out Pitt's commercial treaty, and also in 1789, when, in opposition to the English Parliament, they recognised the right of the Prince of Wales to be Regent.

B. Catholic emancipation was also necessary to allay Catholic discontent, but if Catholic emancipation were granted, the union of the Parliaments was necessary to prevent the tyranny of the Papist democracy, and to end the corruption of the Irish Parliament. Pitt adopted these views.

C. The Act of Union 1800.

(1) Provisions.

That the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland should be united, and that Ireland should be represented in the British Parliament by four bishops, sitting in rotation, and twenty-eight temporal peers, elected for life, in the House of Lords, and by one hundred members in the Commons.

β . That Free Trade should be established between the two countries.
 γ . The Established Churches of Great Britain and Ireland to be united and preserved for ever.

(2) The Union was carried out by bribery, conducted by Castlereagh. Eighty-four "pocket" boroughs were recognised as property, and £15,000 paid for each. Over £1,000,000 was spent in bribes, and titles were lavishly bestowed on the supporters of the measure. The means—"force and fraud"—by which the Union was effected were disgraceful, but no other means would have been successful.

D. The Roman Catholics, who could have prevented the Union, supported it because they expected that the Union would be followed by emancipation, by provision for Roman Catholic clergy, and by a revision of tithes.

- (1) Pitt wished to bring in a measure for Roman Catholic emancipation, but resigned office owing to the opposition of George III, who considered such a measure contrary to his coronation oath. Pitt promised the King not to bring forward the question again. This promise was wrong, because it sacrificed Ireland to George III's personal feelings.
- (2) Pitt thus failed to carry out his whole scheme, and has had the misfortune to be judged in the matter "by the petty fragment of a large policy which he did not live to carry out."

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The Rise of Castlereagh, by Hyde. (Macmillan.)
- C. *Kilgorman*, by Reed. (Nelson.)
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Corrageen, by Orpen. (Methuen.)
Croppies Lie Down, by Buckley. (Duckworth.)

PITT'S POLICY 1791-1802

I. The French Revolution and England.

- A. The French Revolution had very important effects. Pitt, partly through fear that a war with France would increase the danger of Russian aggression in the East, at first did not desire to interfere and wished to remain "spectators of the strange scene in France." He tried to keep Holland neutral, and, owing to his desire for peace, failed to make adequate provision for war. Later he was forced into war owing to the aggression of the French.

(1) 1792. November 16th. The abolition by the French of the rights (guaranteed by the Treaty of Westphalia) of the Dutch to the exclusive navigation of the Scheldt.

a. England was bound in honour to support her new ally Holland.

β . The establishment of French rule in the Netherlands would be most dangerous to England.

The due observance of treaties was essential for the peace of Europe, and the claim of the French that they possessed a law of nature which abrogated treaties could not be admitted.

(2) 1792. November 19th. By the Edict of Fraternity the Convention offered assistance to nations which would rise against their rulers and declared "all Governments are our enemies, all people our friends."

(3) 1793. January 21st. Execution of the King.

1793. February 1st. War was declared by France on England in response to the protest of Pitt, supported by George III, a firm believer in monarchy, and by the majority of the nation, who had been roused by the writings of Burke.

B. Burke opposed the French Revolution, and said in the *Reflections on the French Revolution*, published in 1790: "The French have proved themselves the ablest architects of ruin who have hitherto existed in the world." He prophesied military despotism in France, and feared the extension of revolutionary theories to England. He therefore supported Pitt's harsh measures at home (page 653) and broke with Fox. But Burke failed to appreciate the real need of social and political reform in France and the gravity of the financial crisis. Thirty thousand copies of the book were soon sold, and it

turned England against the Revolution. Other leading Whigs, led by Portland, also joined Pitt, and the old Whig party was thus ruined.

C Fox, with a remnant of the Whigs, heartily welcomed the French Revolution. On hearing of the fall of the Bastille he said: "How much is this the greatest event that has ever happened in the world, and how much the best!" He opposed the measures adopted by Pitt to prevent the spread of revolutionary doctrines in England. The views of the "New Whigs" were ably expressed by Sir James Mackintosh in his *Vindiciae Gallicæ*, published in 1791, as a reply to Burke's *Reflections*.

II. Pitt's Domestic Policy 1791-1802. "The French Revolution made Pitt a Tory."

A. Pitt interfered with the liberty of the subject. The spread, by emissaries of France, of republican principles in England (where a bad harvest, trade depression, and the high price of wheat had aroused great discontent among the lower classes) and the formation of clubs, such as "The Friends of the People" and "The London Corresponding Society," led Pitt, fearing a revolution in England, to pass laws which greatly interfered with the liberty of the subject. In Scotland the harshness of the laws was aggravated by judicial sentences of doubtful legality, notably in the case of Muir, condemned to fourteen years' transportation, 1793.

- (1) 1793. The Aliens Act, to prevent Jacobin agents from coming to England.
- (2) 1794. Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.
- (3) 1795. The Treasonable Practices Act.
 - a. Extended the crime of treason to speaking and writing, even if no overt act of treason followed.
 - β. Made it a misdemeanour to bring the King or Government into contempt.

(4) 1795. The Seditious Meetings Bill.

- a. Public meetings of more than fifty persons to be licensed by a magistrate.
- β. Magistrates to have the right of dispersing public meetings.

5) There was probably no need for these measures (the last two of which were not put into operation), as the English republicans were more noisy than dangerous. But Pitt, Parliament and most of the nation thought that the country was in imminent danger, and a weak policy might have had most serious consequences.

B. Pitt opposed reform, fearing lest it would lead to revolution.

- (1) He opposed Fox's attempt to repeal the Test Act.
- (2) He opposed proposals for parliamentary reform made by Charles Grey¹ in 1797.

C. Finance.

- (1) A vast amount of specie had been withdrawn from the Bank of England owing to the cost of war and subsidies for allies.
- (2) Several country banks had failed owing to the withdrawal of deposits by clients who believed that a French invasion was likely.
- (3) 1797. To avert an expected run on the Bank of England cash payments were suspended, i.e. banknotes were no longer payable in gold on presentation.
 - a. This act saved the Bank of England from the effects of panic. An examination showed that the Bank was sound, and public confidence was restored.

¹ Earl Grey from 1807.

[1821. May 1st.

β. Cash payments resumed on Peel's motion.

γ. The original suspension was justified, but probably should not have lasted so long.]

D. The Canada Act, 1791.

Divided Canada into Upper (i.e. English) and Lower (i.e. French) Canada, and gave to each province a Legislative Council appointed by the Crown and a Representative Assembly elected by freeholders and £10 leaseholders for ten years.

The Act recognised the racial difference between the English of Western and the French of Eastern Canada.

a. Fox opposed the Bill because it maintained the right of the Sovereign to grant hereditary titles and reserved certain Crown lands for the support of the Protestant clergy. He used the opportunity to commend the French Revolution.

β. Burke supported the Bill, and the difference of opinion as to the Revolution between him and Fox now terminated their friendship. Burke issued his *Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs* to vindicate his position.

E. Fox's Libel Bill, 1792.

Pitt supported the Bill introduced by Fox which, in cases of libel, enabled the jury to determine not only the fact of publication, but also whether the matter published was libellous.

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THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

I. Causes.

A. The despotic power of the King.

- (1) The royal power was absolutely supreme. The country was the royal domain. The power of the nobles had been finally crushed by the suppression of the Fronde, 1652. The States-General, a Parliament containing representatives of all classes except the peasantry, had not met since 1614. The Government was a centralised despotism in which everything was done by the authority of the King's Council. The King was the State.
- (2) This power had been exercised for the aggrandisement of the King and not for the welfare of the people. Under this system redress of grievances was utterly impossible.

B. The privileged classes.

- (1) The nobles retained many of their old feudal rights which pressed heavily on the poor, often gained exemption from taxes, and monopolised the chief appointments in Church and State.
- (2) The higher clergy owned one-fifth of the country, evaded taxation, and controlled the Press.
- (3) Many of the upper middle classes held Government appointments and obtained exemption from taxes and military service, and the survival of the trade guilds in the towns favoured the masters at the expense of the artisans.

C. The grievances of the lowest classes.

Taxation, largely evaded by their social superiors, fell heavily upon the lowest classes, especially on the

peasantry, who found the Corvée,¹ the Taille,² the Gabelle,³ the old feudal dues and the heavy Customs duties intolerable burdens. Out of every hundred francs he earned the peasant kept only eighteen for himself.

D. The teaching of Voltaire and Rousseau.

- (1) The scathing criticism of Voltaire showed up the faults of Church and State under the *ancien régime*
- (2) Rousseau, in his *Social Contract*, asserted that "man was born free and is everywhere in chains," and urged that the sovereign people, to whom supremacy rightly belonged, should resume its authority. The *Social Contract* "supplied the text and lit the fire of revolution."

E. Financial embarrassment was the immediate cause.

Louis XIV spent £30,000,000 in building Versailles, Louis XV squandered £3,000,000 on one of his favourites, the assistance given to the United States added to the deficit under Louis XVI, who summoned the States-General as a last resource, hoping they would find some means to avert national bankruptcy.

II. The Course of the Revolution.

A. The Constitutionalists, June, 1789, to June, 1791.

- (1) May, 1789. Meeting of the States-General. The representatives of the people, refused admission to the Assembly by the nobles and clergy, declared themselves the "National Assembly," met on the tennis court at Versailles and took the "Tennis Court Oath" to secure constitutional government, June 20th.
- (2) July 14. Destruction of the Bastille by the Paris mob.

¹ The duty of repairing the high roads.

² A heavy property tax.

³ A tax on salt.

- (3) October 6. The King and Queen brought from Versailles by the women of Paris. The National Assembly followed.
- (4) During this period the Constitutionalists led by Mirabeau, the Deputy of Aix, tried to establish a constitutional monarchy, but failed.
 - a. Louis XVI, a strong supporter of the Roman Catholic Church and the royal authority, refused to come to an agreement with a party which had made the Church dependent on the State and aimed at limiting the power of the Crown. His unsuccessful flight to Varennes, June 20th, 1791, increased the opposition to the Monarchy.
 - β. The Paris mob, maddened by hunger and by hatred of Marie Antoinette, "L'Autrichienne," was growing more powerful and refused to agree to any plans that aimed at preserving the Monarchy.

B. The Girondins, October, 1791, to June, 1793.

- (1) The Girondins¹ aimed at establishing a democratic republic.
- (2) Fearing foreign intervention on behalf of Louis XVI, they resolved "to tell Europe that if cabinets engage kings in a war against peoples, we will engage peoples in a war against kings."

April 20, 1792. War declared against Leopold of Austria. Failure of French attack on the Austrian Netherlands.

July 24, 1792. Prussia, in alliance with Austria, declared war on France.

August 27, 1792. The allies captured Longwy.

September 2, 1792. The allies captured Verdun, but retreated after the "cannonade of Valmy" (Sept. 20).

¹ So called because the Deputies from the Gironde led the party.

October, 1792. The French conquered Savoy and Nice.

November 6, 1792. The French defeated the Austrians at Jemappes.

November 16, 1792. The French pronounced the abolition of the treaty rights of the Dutch to control the navigation of the Scheldt.

November 19, 1792. By the Edict of Fraternity the French offered armed assistance to any countries wishing to overthrow their kings.

The refusal to recognise the obligations of treaties and the offer to assist rebellion constituted a grave danger to Europe.

January 21, 1793. Execution of Louis XVI.

February 1, 1793. War declared against Great Britain and Holland.

(3) The fall of the Girondins.

The Girondins fell because—

- a. They lacked organisation ;
- b. In spite of benevolent theories they failed to remedy the evils of the times.
- c. Although they objected to excesses, they lacked the power to control the Paris mob, which

August 10, 1792, attacked the Tuilleries, massacred the Swiss Guards, and

September 2-6, 1792, partly owing to the successes of the allies at Longwy and Verdun and the consequent fear of an advance on Paris, massacred 1000 prisoners—"The September Massacres."

October 16, 1793. Execution of Marie Antoinette.

October 31. Execution of Vergniaud, Brissot, and other Girondins.

C. The Jacobins, June, 1793, to July, 1794.

- (1) The Jacobins, led by Marat and Robespierre, were disciples of Rousseau and preached the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people. They owed their power to their excellent organisation, to their influence with the artillerymen of Paris, to their control of the Commune or town council of Paris and their supremacy in the Committee of Public Safety.
- (2) Their government, the Reign of Terror, was ferocious, and in seven weeks 1368 people were guillotined on the Place de la Révolution.¹

In December, 1793, a rebellion in La Vendée was put down with great severity.

- (3) They tried to suppress the Christian religion and enthroned a Goddess of Reason in Notre Dame.
- (4) Their gross cruelty and persistent interference with the rights and property of individuals in the interests of the sovereign people led to reaction.

July 13, 1793. Assassination of Marat by Charlotte Corday.

July 28, 1794. Execution of Robespierre and abolition of the Commune.

D. The Directory and Consulate.

After the fall of Robespierre the National Convention (September 20th, 1792, to October 26th, 1795), although unpopular, continued to govern France. The "insurrection of Vendémiaire," October 5th, 1795, was put down by Bonaparte, owing to his artillery, and the Convention, having appointed five Directors (to act as the executive) and a new Legislature, was dissolved.

The Directory made peace with Austria at Campo Formio, 1797, continued the war against England and

¹ Since renamed "La Place de la Concorde."

was supported by Bonaparte. It gave place (1799) to the Consulate, in which Bonaparte became First Consul. In 1804 the enthusiastic support of the army enabled him to proclaim himself Emperor of the French as Napoleon I.

Thus the Revolution, which had asserted the cause of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, led to the establishment of military despotism.

III. The Results of the Revolution.

A. The assertion of the principle of nationality.

The removal of the old class privileges, the abolition of the provinces which had divided the country, the common danger from foreign foes (who were roused by the assertion of the principles of the Revolution), promoted the growth of French nationality. The aggression of the French led to united action and to the growth of nationality in Spain, Portugal, and Prussia, and although the principle of nationality was not accepted at the Congress of Vienna, it played a great part in later European history, especially in the case of Germany and Italy.

B. The assertion of the "sovereignty of the people."

The eighteenth century was the century of "benevolent despots" like Frederick the Great and the Emperor Joseph II, who tried to rule for the good of their subjects. The Revolution asserted the new principle that the people should rule themselves, and the development of popular government was one of the leading features of the nineteenth century.

C. The assertion of individual liberty.

Although the Jacobins and Napoleon interfered with the liberty of the individual, that liberty was extended owing to the removal of restrictions such as the feudal services and guild regulations and the abolition of old

social distinctions. It was greatly extended after the fall of Napoleon, and its development is shown by—

- 4. The extension of the freedom of the Press, especially in France;
- 5. The abolition of serfdom in France, Central Europe, and Prussia.

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THE WAR WITH FRANCE TO THE DEATH OF PITTS (1793-1806)

I. The First Coalition.

- A. Pitt, although anxious to maintain peace and not well qualified for a war minister, was compelled to fight owing to the declaration of war by France. "At a moment of acute commercial and industrial crisis the most pacific and commercial of ministers found himself confronted with a war of the very first magnitude." His

aim was to combine Europe against the common enemy, the French Republic, which had adopted a policy of aggression against all the Governments of Europe. He used the enormous wealth of England to subsidise her allies, who bore the brunt of the struggle on the Continent while the English navy maintained the supremacy of the seas.

1792. The French had defeated the Austrians at Jemappes and conquered the Austrian Netherlands.

1793. Formation of the First Coalition—England, Prussia, Austria, Spain, Holland.

B. 1793.

(1) Successes of the allies.

March 18. The Austrians regained Flanders by a victory at Neerwinden.

August 28. Lord Hood occupied Toulon.

(2) Successes of the French.

October 16. The Austrians were defeated at Wattignies.

December 19. Toulon recaptured by the French. Bonaparte first distinguished himself as a military officer.

December. The revolt in La Vendée was crushed.

C. 1794.

(1) British naval successes.

Lord Howe defeated the Brest fleet off Ushant June 1, "the glorious first of June." Martinique, St. Lucia, and Tobago captured.

(2) French victories on land.

June 26. The Austrians driven from the Netherlands by the French victory at Fleurus.

D. 1795.

(1) The Coalition weakened by the withdrawal of Holland (conquered by France), of Prussia and Spain, which concluded the Treaties of Basle with the Republic.

(2) July 20. The Royalist *émigrés* who, with Pitt's assistance, made a descent at Quiberon Bay, were utterly routed by Hoche.

E. 1796.

(1) Owing to the exhaustion of Austria, financial depression at home, and the belief that the Directory, established at the end of the Reign of Terror, would be willing to come to terms, Pitt made overtures for peace through Lord Malmesbury.

(2) The Directory, hoping to strengthen its position by military successes, determined to continue the war against Austria and Great Britain.

a. Successes of Bonaparte over the Austrians in Italy at Lodi (May 10th), Castiglione (August 5th), and Arcola (November 16th). Expulsion of the Austrians from Lombardy.

β . Failure of Hoche's expedition to Ireland (page 648).

γ . Capture by Great Britain of Demerara, Ceylon, Malacca.

8. Spain declared war against Great Britain.

F. 1797.

(1) England seemed in grave danger.

a. She was threatened with attack by the French, Spanish, and Dutch fleets. In 1793 it had been France alone against Europe; in 1797 it was England. (Trevelyan.)

January 14. β . The Austrians were routed by Bonaparte at Rivoli.

γ . There was great dissatisfaction in the navy.

The sailors of the Channel Fleet at Spithead mutinied, owing to their inadequate pay (which had remained unaltered since the reign of Charles II),

bad food, the unfair division of prize money, the harshness of their officers, and excessive flogging. Their reasonable demands were granted, and Lord Howe, "Black Dick," induced them to return to duty without proceeding to any acts of violence.

2. The sailors of the fleet at the Nore mutinied owing to dissatisfaction with the Articles of War, and demanded a voice in the selection of officers. This was a violent and criminal movement led by a dissolute and insubordinate sailor named Richard Parker. Two loyal frigates were fired upon and the Thames blockaded. But the Government remained firm and the mutineers surrendered. Parker and a few others were hanged, but most of the mutineers were pardoned, the Government wisely adopting a merciful course.
5. The hostility of the war party in France led the Directory to reject further offers of peace made by Pitt through Malmesbury.

(2) Two naval victories saved England.

February 14. a. Jervis (subsequently created Earl St. Vincent) routed the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent.

1. This victory prevented the junction of the French and Spanish fleets, which were intended to cover an invasion of England.
2. It raised the spirits of Englishmen and helped them to face the financial crisis (page 654), the mutinies in the navy and the peace of Campo Formio.

October 11. *B.* Duncan (subsequently created Viscount Duncan), who during the mutiny had, by the skilful use of two ships, tricked the Dutch fleet into remaining in the Texel when England was defenceless, routed the Dutch at Camperdown with the fleet of the Nore.

1. This victory prevented the junction of the French and Dutch fleets, and averted a possible invasion.
2. It proved the underlying loyalty even of the late mutineers.
3. It diminished the danger of French interference in Ireland.

(3) The end of the First Coalition.

Their defeat at Rivoli and the submission of the Pope to Bonaparte led the Austrians to make with France the Armistice of Leoben, followed (October 17th) by the Treaty of Campo Formio, by which France received the Austrian Netherlands and Austria Venice.

Britain was now left to face France alone, and the Directory again made preparations for invasion.

II. The Second Coalition, 1798.

A. The proposed invasion of England.

“The army of England” was stationed in the seaports of N.W. France, and transports collected to carry them across to England. Bonaparte saw that the supremacy of the English fleet made this scheme impracticable, but determined to weaken Britain’s colonial empire by combining with native rulers, especially Tippoo Sahib (page 776), in an attack on British India. He probably had hopes of establishing a great Oriental empire.

B. Operations in Ireland.

A force under Humbert was sent to co-operate with the Irish rebels, but surrendered to Cornwallis, September 9th (page 649).

C. The attack on India.

- (1) Bonaparte captured Malta, routed the Mamelukes,¹ and thus secured Egypt, "the key to the East."
- (2) August 1. Nelson (subsequently created Baron Nelson of the Nile) annihilated the French fleet at the battle of the Nile² in Aboukir Bay.

This victory (a) saved India (the directors of the East India Company gave Nelson £10,000 as an acknowledgment of his services), and was followed, May 4th, 1799, by the capture of Seringapatam, where Tippoo Sahib was killed.

B. Made Great Britain supreme in the Mediterranean.

γ. Shut up Bonaparte's army in Egypt.

- (3) Bonaparte determined to conquer Syria, hoping to use it as a base either
 - α. For an attack on Constantinople and a flank attack on Eastern Europe, or
 - β. For a further expedition against India.

He routed the Turks at Mount Tabor, but failed to capture Acre, which was gallantly defended for sixty-five days—March 16th—May 20th, 1799—by Sir Sidney Smith.

¹ A caste of warriors of Circassian origin who had become masters of Egypt.

² The anagram "Honor est a Nilo," formed from the words "Horatio Nelson," is one of the happiest examples of the kind.

D. The formation of the Second Coalition.

- (1) The victory of the Nile was the direct cause of the Second Coalition formed by Pitt, December, 1798, which was due partly to the national feeling aroused by French aggression, and was maintained by British subsidies. It included Russia (the Emperor Paul resented Bonaparte's seizure of Malta), Ferdinand of Naples (resenting the conquest of his territory on the mainland by the French and the formation of the Parthenopean Republic), Turkey (fearing the designs of Bonaparte on Constantinople), and Austria, *not* Prussia.
- (2) The Coalition at first was successful, partly owing to Bonaparte's absence in Egypt.

1799.

- a. March 25. The Austrian Archduke Charles defeated the French near Lake Constance and drove them across the Rhine.
- b. The Russian general Suvorov, supported by the Austrians, routed the French at the battles of the Trebbia (June 19th) and Novi (August 15th) and drove them out of Italy.
- c. An English force gained some successes in Holland and captured the remains of the Dutch fleet.

A threefold attack on France was arranged by the Duke of York from Holland, by the Austrians through Savoy, and through Switzerland by Suvorov, who, in September, 1799, led his army across the St. Gothard Pass—one of the great marches of history.

(3) The weakening of the Coalition.

1799 September 26.

- a. Massena routed a new Russo-Austrian army at Zurich and Suvorov even in Switzerland.

October.

β. Failure of the Duke of York, who evacuated Holland.

October 9.

γ. Bonaparte, leaving his army in Egypt (where it was defeated, March 21st, 1801, by Sir Ralph Abercromby at Alexandria and compelled to evacuate Egypt), returned to France, and by the *coup d'état* of Brumaire (November 9th) overthrew the Directory and became First Consul.

E. The break-up of the Second Coalition.

(1) The withdrawal of Austria.

1800. June 14.

α. Bonaparte routed the Austrians at Marengo and regained Northern Italy.

December 3.

β. Moreau routed the Austrians at Hohenlinden. The Austrians, now utterly crushed, made—

1801. February 9.

γ. The Peace of Lunéville with France.

1. All territory on the left bank of the Rhine ceded to France.

2. The Cisalpine, Batavian, and Helvetic republics recognised by Austria.

1801. March 14th. Pitt resigned office owing to the King's opposition to Catholic Emancipation.

(2) The withdrawal of Russia.

The Czar Paul, who greatly admired Bonaparte and strongly resented the British claim to search neutral vessels for contraband of war, withdrew from the Coalition and, partly at the instigation of Bonaparte who wished to break the naval power of Britain, revived, with Sweden and Denmark (May, 1800), the Armed Neutrality of 1780 (page 613). The danger to

ri in was av r i—

1801. March 23.

- a. By the assassination of the Czar Paul, whose successor, Alexander, was more favourably disposed towards Great Britain.

1801. April 2.

- β. By the defeat of the Danes at Copenhagen, when Nelson put his telescope to his blind eye and so "could not see the signal" to cease firing given by his superior officer, Sir Hyde Parker.

1801. June.

- γ. By a treaty of peace between Great Britain and Russia, which defined the right of search and provided that blockades to be respected must be efficient.

(3) The Peace of Amiens, March, 1802.

Both France and Britain were ready for peace. Great Britain had checked Bonaparte's designs in Ireland, Egypt, and India. The British navy had been brilliantly successful, and commerce had increased sixty per cent since 1792, but the National Debt had doubled. Wheat had risen to 120s. per quarter, and the poor lacked bread. Pitt said: "The question of peace or war is not in itself so formidable as that of the scarcity with which it is combined." Great Britain was now isolated. The French were discouraged by their failure in Egypt, by the break-up of the Armed Neutrality, and by the loss of their colonies.

The Treaty of Amiens provided—

- a. That Great Britain should give up all her conquests except Ceylon and Trinidad.
- β. That Malta should be given back to the Knights of St. John.
- γ. That the French should evacuate Rome and Naples.
- δ. That Great Britain should recognise the French Republic.

The peace, concluded by Addington and approved by Pitt, though disadvantageous to Great Britain which made great sacrifices, was popular. "A peace which all men are glad of, but no man can be proud of" (Sheridan). But it proved only an armistice, as Britain refused to recognise the Batavian, Helvetic, and Cisalpine republics, and the ambition of Bonaparte led to an early resumption of hostilities.

III. The Third Coalition.

A. The declaration of war.

- (1) Continued aggressions of Bonaparte.
 - a. He annexed Piedmont, occupied Switzerland, refused to evacuate Holland.
 - β. He refused to make a commercial treaty with Great Britain, and hampered British trade in Holland.
 - γ. He was apparently contemplating a further attack on Egypt.
- (2) Great Britain did not observe the Treaty of Amiens.
 - a. Malta was retained to ensure command of the Mediterranean, and to defend Egypt if necessary.
 - β. Alexandria and the French towns in India were retained.
- (3) Bonaparte despised the weak ministry of Addington and resented—
 - a. The shelter afforded in England to French émigrés.
 - β. The attacks made on him by English newspapers.
- (4) Great Britain declared war May 18, 1803.
The two previous wars had been waged to overthrow the Republic and to restore the Monarchy in France, while the French had wished to maintain their borders and to spread republican principles. Europe had

greatly benefited by the overthrow of feudal privileges and the growth of democratic feeling which resulted from French victories. Bonaparte now aimed at subjugating Europe to France, and at crushing nationality. His fall was ultimately due to the outburst of national feeling he provoked.

The renewal of the war in 1803 caused the failure of Bonaparte's attempt to form a French colonial empire in America, India, and Australia (page 678); saved Egypt and possibly Turkey from conquest; secured for Great Britain Malta, the Cape, Mauritius; destroyed the French and Spanish fleets; strengthened the Tories in England.

B. Failure of Bonaparte's schemes in Ireland and India.

(1) 1803. July 23.

Robert Emmet's rising in Dublin easily suppressed.

(2) The defeat of the Mahrattas at Assaye (1803) and Argaum (1803) prevented successful French interference in India.

1804. May.

Pitt returned to office at the head of a Tory ministry, the King's opposition preventing him from including Fox in a comprehensive administration, and Grenville refusing to take office without Fox.

1804. May 18.

Bonaparte proclaimed himself Emperor of the French as Napoleon I.

C. The proposed invasion of England.

The scheme was bound to fail. Napoleon underestimated the power of Great Britain. The conjunction of wind and tide necessary for successful transport was most improbable. Success depended upon the defeat of the British navy, which proved too strong for Napoleon's fleet, and even if the French had evaded Nelson and actually landed their retreat would have been cut off.

- (1) "The army of England," 150,000 men, was encamped at Boulogne, where a fleet of transports was collected to "force the wet ditch of the Channel."
- (2) The French and Spanish fleets were to unite and to convoy the transports to England after Nelson had been enticed to Egypt or the West Indies.
- (3) The British Government increased the fleet, and army and 300,000 volunteers were enrolled.
- (4) The successful blockade of Brest by Admiral Cornwallis greatly hampered the French.
- (5) Nelson blockaded Villeneuve in Toulon, but the latter escaped and sailed to the West Indies followed by Nelson, whom he evaded, returning at once to Europe
- (6) 1805. July 22. Villeneuve defeated off Finisterre by Sir Robert Calder. He then put in to Cadiz to refit instead of uniting with the Brest fleet, as Napoleon had ordered. This gave Nelson time to return and ruined the plan of Napoleon, who led the "Army of England" against the Austrians, hoping by victory in the east to make up for failure in the west.
- (7) 1805. October 21. Villeneuve, unjustly accused of cowardice by Napoleon, left Cadiz to seek Nelson and was utterly routed at Trafalgar.
 - a. Nelson drew up his ships in two columns, adopted Rodney's tactics (page 615), and broke the French line in two places. Death of Nelson.
 - b. The victory saved England from invasion, annihilated the French fleet, and secured for the British navy the command of the sea.

D. The formation of the Third Coalition.

- (1) 1804. Bonaparte had aroused great indignation by kidnapping the Duc d'Enghien in Baden (neutral territory) and executing him for asserted complicity in a plot against him.

- (2) 1805. April. Russia and Great Britain made a treaty to drive the French out of Switzerland and Holland.
- (3) 1805, August. Austria joined the Coalition owing to the annexation of Genoa by the French and the coronation of Napoleon as king of Italy.
- (4) Sweden joined the alliance.
- (5) Frederick William III of Prussia refused to join the Coalition, and betrayed the cause of Germany through fear of opposing Napoleon, from whom he hoped to receive Hanover.

E. The break-up of the Coalition.

- (1) 1805. October 20. An Austrian army of 30,000 under Mack surrendered at Ulm. Consequent capitulation of Vienna to Napoleon.
- (2) 1805. December 2. A combined army of Russians and Austrians routed at Austerlitz.¹
- (3) 1805. December 15. Haugwitz, the Prussian minister, made the treaty of Schönbrunn, by which France and Prussia (to which Hanover was granted) made an offensive and defensive alliance.
- (4) 1805. December 26. Treaty of Presburg. The weakening of Austria.
 - a. Austria ceded Venetia to the French kingdom of Italy.
 - β. The Electors of Wurtemberg and Bavaria were made kings independent of Austria.
- 1806. July. The States on the Lower Rhine and Upper Danube were formed into the Confederation of the Rhine dependent on France.

¹ The story that many fugitives crossing the frozen surface of Lake Töllitz were drowned owing to the plunging fire of Napoleon's artillery, which broke the ice, is disproved by Rose (*Life of Napoleon*, Vol. II, p. 50).

F. Death of Pitt, January 23rd, 1806

"Austerlitz killed Pitt." His death was hastened by the failure of the Third Coalition, due to Napoleon's military successes and the cowardly policy of Prussia. "Roll up that map,¹ it will not be wanted these ten years."

IV. Criticism of Pitt's War Policy.

- A. He aimed at combining the rulers of Europe against the common enemy and maintaining a balance of power. He made no use of the principle of nationality which ultimately proved fatal to Napoleon. He used the wealth England had gained through the recent development of manufactures and extension of commerce to subsidise his allies to fight the French on land and used the British fleet to conquer French colonies and to protect Great Britain.
- B. In spite of some victories the military operations of the Coalitions were not ultimately successful. The failure of the British expeditions was due largely to the importance attached to rank, which frequently led to the appointment of incompetent generals to command the army (e.g. the Duke of York).
- C. The British navy had been reorganised owing to disputes with Spain and Russia before the French Revolution (page 646). Merit and not rank secured active commands (e.g. Nelson), and the naval victories of Great Britain were due not to superiority of numbers but to the skill of her admirals and seamen. The blockade of the French ports in 1805 was of supreme importance. "Those far-distant, storm-beaten ships upon which the Grand Army never looked, stood between it and the dominion of the world."

¹ Of Europe.

D. The political conditions of Europe made common action difficult.

- (1) The rulers of different countries failed to appreciate in time the danger arising from France.
- (2) The objects of the rulers of Austria, Prussia, and Russia were largely selfish.
 - a. Austria wished to secure Piedmont and to obtain parts of Bavaria and Poland.
 - β. Prussia wished to secure Hanover.
 - γ. Russia wanted Poland.
- (3) It was not until Napoleon had roused the opposition of nations rather than rulers that his power was checked.

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THE LIFE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE TO 1812.

A. August 15, 1769. Born at Ajaccio. Owed much to his clever mother, "Madame Mère."

1793. His skilful direction of the French artillery led to the recapture of Toulon.

B. 1795. Put down the insurrection of Vendémiaire with a "whiff of grapeshot" and saved the Directory.

C. 1796-7. By the victories of Lodi, 1796 (followed by the capture of Milan), and Rivoli, 1797 (followed by the capture of Mantua), he broke the power of Austria, which, by the Treaty of Campo Formio, obtained Venice, ceded the Austrian Netherlands to France, and recognised the Cisalpine Republic.

D. May, 1798–October, 1799. Bonaparte's Egyptian campaign undertaken in the hope of attacking India.

1798. The Mamelukes routed at the battle of the Pyramids. Capture of Cairo. Nelson's victory at the Nile shut up Bonaparte in Egypt.

1799. Bonaparte invaded Syria, to face a Turkish army which had been sent to recapture Egypt, failed to capture Acre, which was defended by the Turks and Sir Sidney Smith, "the man who made me miss my destiny." He turned to Egypt, defeated the Turks at Aboukir, and, August 22nd, sailed from Alexandria, leaving Kléber in command of his army.

E. During Bonaparte's absence.

- (1) November, 1798. Capture of Naples and erection of the Parthenopean Republic by the French.
- (2) The Second Coalition had been formed.
- (3) March, 1799. The Austrians had defeated the French army of the Rhine near Lake Constance.
- (4) June–August, 1799. Suvorov had defeated the French on the Trebbia and at Novi, and driven them out of Northern Italy, but his invasion of Switzerland failed.
- (5) France was torn by Royalist revolts, religious schism, financial disaster, and commercial ruin.

F. Bonaparte restored the fortunes of France.

- (1) November, 1799. The Directory fell. By the *coup d'état* of Brumaire Bonaparte dissolved the Legislature and subsequently became the first of the three Consuls of the newly established Consulate. He made a concordat with the Church, issued the Code Napoleon, reorganised local government, improved education, and, with the help of Gaudin, restored the financial position.
- (2) May, 1800. Bonaparte crossed the Great St. Bernard and regained Northern Italy by his brilliant victory over the Austrians at Marengo.
- (3) December 3, 1800. Moreau routed the Austrians at Hohenlinden.
- (4) February 9, 1801. By the Peace of Lunéville the left bank of the Rhine was ceded to France.

G. Bonaparte's attempt to restore the French colonial empire.

His attempt was due partly to his love of conquest, partly to jealousy of England, and partly to his wish to secure "political and intellectual safety-valves" for France.

- (1) 1802. He made the Peace of Amiens (page 670) partly to obtain leisure for this object.
- (2) 1802. Failure of his attempt to establish French authority in St. Domingo, although the patriot Toussaint l'Ouverture was captured.
- (3) 1803. Bonaparte had obtained Louisiana from Spain, but owing to strong opposition in America to the establishment of French power on the Mississippi he sold it to the United States for 60,000,000 francs.
- (4) 1803. Failure of an attempt to weaken the English power in India by an alliance with the Mahrattas.

(5) 1800-3. Unsuccessful attempt to establish French authority in Australia.

1804. May 18th. Bonaparte proclaimed himself the Emperor Napoleon I.

H. 1805. War renewed with Great Britain.

The proposed invasion averted at Trafalgar.

I. The humbling of Austria, 1805.

(1) Austria had joined the Third Coalition mainly because Napoleon had annexed Genoa.

(2) The army of England, diverted from Boulogne, captured Mack's army at Ulm and routed the Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz.

(3) December 26. By the Treaty of Presburg Austria ceded Venetia to Italy (Napoleon had assumed the title of King of Italy, March, 1805), Tyrol to Bavaria. Napoleon recognised the Electors of Bavaria and Würtemberg as kings, independent of Austria, and exacted a war contribution of 40,000,000 francs.

These harsh terms were unwise. Moderate treatment might have broken the bond between Austria and Great Britain, and secured her hearty support against Russia.

J. The establishment of the Continental System.

The opposition of Great Britain had roused Napoleon's fierce resentment, and having failed to destroy her navy, he determined to close the ports of Europe against her, and thus to attack a "nation of shopkeepers" through her commerce. "The sea must be subdued by the land." It was therefore necessary to get control of the coast-line of Europe, especially of Italy, Holland, and Prussia.

(1) 1806. Joseph Bonaparte made king of Naples, whence the Bourbons had been driven.

July 4, 1806. Sir John Stuart defeated the French at Maida and saved Sicily.

(2) **1806.** Louis Bonaparte made king of Holland.

(3) **July 12, 1806.** Formation of the Confederation of the Rhine under the protection of Napoleon, including the kingdoms of Bavaria and Würtemberg, and the Grand Duchy of Baden. Many petty German states, hitherto nominally independent, put under the authority of the sixteen members of the Confederation.

August, 1806. End of the Holy Roman Empire.

These changes tended ultimately to promote the union of Germany by diminishing the number of separate states.

(4) **The fall of Prussia, 1806.**

Frederick William III was subservient to Napoleon, and the neutrality of Prussia during the Austrian campaign had been ensured by the cession of Hanover, December, 1805. After the death of Pitt, January 23rd, 1806, Fox, the Foreign Secretary in the "Ministry of All the Talents," opened negotiations for peace with Napoleon, who offered to restore Hanover to Great Britain. Great indignation was felt at this in Prussia, and the national party, supported by the noble Queen Louisa, demanded the evacuation of Germany by the French troops. Napoleon refused, and the execution by martial law of Palm, a bookseller of Nuremberg, August 25th, further exasperated the Prussian King who, although not supported by Russia, Austria, or England, determined to resist Napoleon.

October 14, 1806. The Prussians routed at Jena and Auerstadt.

October 27, 1806. Napoleon entered Berlin.

(5) **The Berlin and Milan Decrees.**

November 21, 1806. France, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Holland, and the Confederation of the Rhine

were forbidden to trade with Great Britain, which was declared to be in a state of blockade. European ports from the Vistula to the Adriatic were shut against British trade. All British goods to be confiscated.

January 7, 1807. An Order in Council forbade neutral ships on pain of confiscation to trade with the ports of France or of countries observing the Berlin Decree.

January, 1807. Napoleon seized English goods in the Hanse towns.

March, 1807. England blockaded the North German coast.

November, 1807. Further Orders in Council declared the ports of France and her allies in a state of blockade, and forbade the purchase of ships by neutrals from belligerents.

December, 1807. The Milan Decree declared every vessel trading with Britain or a British colony liable to seizure.

(6) The Peace of Tilsit, July 7, 1807.

The Grenville ministry had wasted its energies in unsuccessful expeditions to the Dardanelles, to Buenos Ayres, and to Alexandria. It failed to seize the opportunity of checking Napoleon by giving effective aid to Russia.

Napoleon now advanced against Russia, and after a drawn battle at Eylau, February 8th, routed the Russians at Friedland, June 14th. The Czar, Alexander I, enraged at the failure of Great Britain to help him and by the seizure of Russian merchantmen under the Order in Council, and completely won over by the fascination of Napoleon, agreed to the Peace of Tilsit.

- α. Alexander agreed to recognise Jerome Bonaparte as king of Westphalia (this further weakened Prussia), assented, although unwillingly, to the cession of the Duchy of Warsaw to Saxony and recognised Joseph as king of Naples.
- β. Secret articles bound Alexander to enforce the Continental System in Russia, and to compel Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal to declare war against Great Britain.

September 2, 1807. Bombardment of Copenhagen and seizure of the Danish fleet by Great Britain, which was at peace with Denmark, to prevent it from being used by Russia or France.

This "act of great injustice" was due to military necessity and led to an alliance between Denmark and France. It was justified by the Secret Articles of the Treaty of Tilsit, of which Canning had been informed, and hampered Napoleon by depriving him of the Danish fleet.

(7) Results of Napoleon's policy.

(a) His attempt to crush Britain had made him master of Western Europe, and at Tilsit he probably reached the height of his power. But his success no longer, as in 1800, "promoted the best interests of France." After Austerlitz none of Napoleon's wars had the approval of France.

(b) It was impossible rigidly to enforce the Continental System.

α. Napoleon was quite unable to cope with the British navy.

β. The goods of Britain and her colonies included many of the necessaries of life, and an extensive system of smuggling was organised,

especially through Heligoland, captured by Britain 1807. Holland, where Louis Bonaparte refused to enforce the decrees, and Sicily (page 679) supplied British goods to Continental consumers though at a greatly increased price. Napoleon's soldiers at Eylau wore overcoats from Leeds and shoes from Northampton.

γ. Napoleon failed to prevent the transport of corn from the Continent to England.

(c) Her navy, the development of her manufactures, her command of colonial markets and her contraband trade with Europe enabled Britain to withstand Napoleon, and the ruin of neutral commerce strengthened her mercantile marine. But she suffered greatly from this great commercial war which led—

α. To acute distress in England (in 1810 the average price of wheat was 103s. a quarter);

β. To the war with the United States (page 692).

(d) The Continental System led ultimately to the fall of Napoleon.

α. The suffering it entailed on the Continental consumers aroused great indignation.

β. His attempt to compel Portugal to accept the Berlin Decrees was one of the causes of the Peninsular War, 1807-14 (page 687).

γ. Alexander I strongly resented the injury to Russian trade resulting from this policy, and his failure to enforce the system was one reason for Napoleon's expedition to Moscow, 1812.

K. The Peninsular War (page 687).

L. The second conquest of Austria, 1809.

- (1) Owing to the Peninsular War, Napoleon's treatment of Prussia, the revolt of the Tyrol under Hofer against Bavaria, and the injury to her commerce caused by the Continental System, Austria declared war against France and made peace with England.
- (2) Napoleon returned from Spain, was repulsed by the Austrians at Aspern, skilfully extricated his army from a most dangerous position at Lobau, and routed the Archduke Charles at Wagram, July 6, 1809. But the loss of many veteran soldiers in this campaign seriously weakened Napoleon's military forces.
- (3) October 14, 1809. The Treaty of Vienna or Schönbrunn.
 - a. Austria gave up the Illyrian coast including Trieste to France.
 - β. Austrian Poland was added to the Duchy of Warsaw, which had been granted to the King of Saxony.
 - γ. Russia received part of Austrian Galicia.

Austria now adopted the Continental System against England, and deserted Hofer, the Tyrolean patriot, who was captured and executed by order of Napoleon (Feb., 1810).

(4) The Walcheren Expedition, July–December, 1809.

As a diversion in favour of Austria, Castlereagh, July, 1809, sent an army of 40,000, commanded by the incompetent Earl of Chatham and escorted by a fleet of 245 vessels commanded by Admiral Sir Richard Strachan, to attack Antwerp, a dangerous commercial rival of London, which was too weak to resist a vigorous attack. Operations were hampered by quarrels between the commanders, and, owing to

the delay caused by Chatham's successful attack on Flushing, Antwerp was fortified and guarded by the French fleet which the English had foolishly failed to intercept. Owing to the damp, to lack of drinking-water and of proper accommodation, 11,000 out of the 40,000 troops were stricken with fever by September. The army returned home, leaving 15,000 men to hold the swampy island of Walcheren. After losing many more men the remainder left Walcheren December 24.

(5) December, 1809. Napoleon desiring an heir to succeed him divorced Josephine, and after failing to secure the hand of a sister of Alexander I married Marie Louise, daughter of the Emperor of Austria, April 2, 1810. This marriage strengthened Napoleon's position and complicated European politics by ensuring an alliance between France and Austria.

M. The Russian Campaign, 1812.

(1) Causes.

In spite of the Treaty of Tilsit, 1807 and a friendly meeting at Erfurt, September, 1808, Alexander was suspicious of Napoleon.

(a) Alexander wished Prussia to remain as a buffer state against the French and did not approve of the action of Napoleon who, in accordance with the desire to crush Prussia which he had shown after Jena, had compelled Frederick William III to limit his army and maintained French garrisons in some of the chief towns of Prussia.

(b) Ill-feeling had been caused by the failure of the negotiations for the marriage of Napoleon to Alexander's sister and by Napoleon's speedy marriage to Marie Louise.

(c) Alexander strongly resented the grant of the Duchy of Warsaw to Saxony, and feared that Napoleon meant to make Poland independent of Russia.

(d) 1810. Napoleon seized Oldenburg, although the Duke had married Alexander's sister.

(e) December, 1810. Owing to the great injury to Russian trade Alexander abandoned the Continental System and, encouraged by the example of Wellington at Torres-Vedras, determined to adopt a defensive policy. Russia and Sweden had thrown off the yoke and we had won the race of starvation by a neck. (Trevelyan.)

(2) The advance into Russia and the retreat.

Napoleon's "Grand Army" consisted of 600,000 men supported by contingents from Austria and Prussia. He crossed the Niemen June 23-25, 1812, and marched towards Moscow. His army had to "live upon the country" and found great difficulty in obtaining supplies in a country naturally unfertile and now devastated by its inhabitants.

September 7, 1812. French victory at Borodino, "the bloodiest fight of the century," when each side lost about 40,000 men.

September 14, 1812. The French entered Moscow.

September 14-20, 1812. The burning of Moscow due either to the deliberate act of the Russians, to the carelessness of drunken plunderers or to both.

October 18, 1812. Napoleon, disappointed that the occupation of Moscow had not compelled the surrender of Alexander, evacuated Moscow. The Russian cavalry compelled him to return along the devastated line of his advance. Owing to lack of provisions, the incessant attacks of the Russians, the bitter cold, and the loss of 12,000 men drowned in the Beresina, out of 600,000 men who had crossed the Niemen in June "only 20,000 famished, frost-bitten, unarmed spectres" recrossed it in December.

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THE PENINSULAR WAR, 1808-14

Causes.

- A. Napoleon wished to conquer the Peninsula.
 - (1) Portugal, an old commercial ally of England, refused to accept the Berlin Decrees, and was occupied by the French.
 - (2) June, 1808. Napoleon's brother Joseph appointed king of Spain on the forced resignation of Charles IV and his son Ferdinand, who had fallen into Napoleon's power. "France was now overriding peoples." Great national rising in Spain against French domination, and the expulsion of Joseph from Madrid, July, 1808. The first appearance of national resistance to Napoleon (the resistance of Spain and Portugal) showed that "a whole people is more powerful than disciplined armies." The defeat of the French at Baylen by the Spaniards on July 19, and the expulsion of Joseph greatly impaired the prestige of the French and encouraged the Spaniards to resist them.

B. Great Britain decided to support Portugal. This was a change in British policy, which had been hitherto naval and colonial. But the French had now no colonies left, and Great Britain adopted a policy of operations on land.

C. The Peninsular War was very important because it weakened Napoleon's operations elsewhere, and checked his designs against British commerce. It was "a veritable ulcer, the original source of all his misfortunes."

II. The Saving of Portugal.

A. Wellesley saw that Portugal could easily be defended, was an excellent base, and could be reached easily by sea. His first object was to drive the French from Portugal.

B. 1808. Wellesley defeated the French at Rorica and Vimiero, but his superior officer, Sir Hew Dalrymple, made the Convention of Cintra, August 30, by which the defeated French were allowed to evacuate Portugal with all their spoils. The Convention was too favourable to the French, but it secured Portugal, which proved invaluable to Wellesley as a base of operations and a safe retreat.

C. 1808. Napoleon, enraged by the Convention of Cintra, himself invaded Spain, entered Madrid, replaced Joseph on the throne, and then moved against Sir John Moore, who had superseded Dalrymple. Napoleon was compelled to return to France, leaving Soult to pursue Moore. Moore conducted a brilliant retreat, defeated Soult at Corunna, where he was killed, January 16, 1809. Moore had saved Lisbon from attack by Napoleon and postponed the French conquest of Southern Spain.

D (1) 1809. Wellesley returned to Portugal and defeated the French at Talavera, for which he was created Viscount Wellington.

(2) Wellington fell back on Portugal owing to reinforcements under Massena being sent by Napoleon after his victory at Wagram.

September 27, 1810. Defeat of Massena at Busaco.

(3) The lines of Torres-Vedras (a triple line of fortifications from Lisbon to the sea, fifty miles long, strengthened by 150 forts) saved Portugal. Massena, recognising their strength, retreated, and this retreat proved the turning point of the war. The British Government, which had hitherto been somewhat remiss, henceforth gave Wellington steady and strong support.

E. 1811. Wellington defeated Massena at Fuentes d'Onoro May 5, and Beresford defeated Soult at Albuera May 16, and captured Almeida, the last fortress in Portugal held by the French, thus finally clearing Portugal of the French, and securing a base of attack on the long lines of the French, which extended from Madrid to Bayonne.

III. The Advance into Spain.

A. The first attempt.

1812. Wellington captured Ciudad Rodrigo January 19 and Badajoz April 6. These successes (sullied by shameful excesses on the part of the victorious soldiers) rendered Wellington's advance into Spain possible. He defeated Marmont at Salamanca July 22, 1812, and entered Madrid. He thus cleared South and Central Spain of the French, but, after having failed to capture Burgos, had to retreat on Portugal before the superior numbers of the enemy. This advance into Spain was a mistake, and the discipline of the army greatly deteriorated on the retreat.

Napoleon's power was now greatly weakened.

- a. Russia had turned against him because of loss of trade through the Berlin Decrees, and because Alexander was jealous of the marriage of Napoleon with an Austrian princess.
- β. In Prussia there was a national uprising, inspired by Stein, against Napoleon.
- γ. The retreat from Moscow.

B. 1813. The successful advance.

(1) This was rendered possible owing to the possession of Almeida, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Badajoz, and easier because of the withdrawal of many French (veteran) troops from Spain for Russia, and their replacement by conscripts. Liverpool (Prime Minister, June, 1812) gave more efficient aid to Wellington, who was also helped by the great improvement in the Portuguese army.

(2) June 21, 1813. Wellington defeated Joseph at Vittoria.

The battle of Vittoria—

a. Cleared Central Spain of the French.

β. Encouraged the Austrians to oppose Napoleon (page 698).

(3) August 31, 1813. Wellington's lieutenant, Graham, captured St. Sebastian by storm.

October 31, 1813. Pampeluna surrendered after heroic resistance.

These successes facilitated his advance into France.

(4) Soult was sent back by Napoleon to oppose Wellington, but was defeated at the battles of the Pyrenees (July, 1813) and driven back to France.

IV. The Invasion of France.

Wellington followed Soult into France and won the battles of Nivelle, November 10, 1813; Nive, December 9-13; and Orthez, February 27, 1814.

April 10, 1814. Wellington defeated Soult at Toulouse after a desperate encounter, in which the victors lost more than the vanquished.

V. The Conditions of the War.

A. The French—

- (1) Required enormous armies for communications, to hold conquests and to replace losses. They found the war "a running sore."
- (2) Suffered greatly from guerilla warfare, for which the country was well adapted.
- (3) Quarrels between Soult and Massena weakened their cause.
- (4) It was impossible for the French to "live on the country" owing to its poverty.
- (5) Their enormous baggage trains impeded the army.

B. The British.

- (1) The mountains of Portugal formed an excellent base.
- (2) The command of the sea made it easy to send reinforcements and supplies.
- (3) Their shooting was much better than that of the French, and the British soldiers proved far more steady than the French in battle.
- (4) The Spanish regulars proved at first unreliable, especially at Talavera and Salamanca, but after 1812 there was a great improvement in the Spanish and Portuguese armies owing to better discipline. The guerilla troops greatly harassed the French.

(5) Perceval, 1809-12, did not strongly support Wellington, who was greatly hampered by lack of stores, although the Tories favoured the war. But Liverpool (1812) gave good support, and this made success easier to attain.

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THE WAR WITH AMERICA, 1812-13

I. Causes.

A. Trade disputes.

(1) American trade with Europe had been greatly injured by Napoleon's Decrees and the Orders in Council, especially by—

a. The Order of November, 1807, which authorised the seizure of any American vessel which, while sailing to a European port closed to British vessels, failed first to touch at a British port, and

b. By the Milan Decree of December, 1807, which ordered the seizure of any American vessel obeying this Order.

(2) There were two parties in America. The Federalists of the north desired to maintain friendship with Britain, the Mistress of the Seas, and some advocated secession from the United States and union with Canada.

The Republicans of the south were hostile to England and hoped to conquer Canada.

(3) President Jefferson opposed war, but advocated retaliatory laws.

1807. An Embargo Act forbade American ships to sail from American to foreign ports. This act was modified by—

1809. A Non-Intercourse Act, which forbade intercourse with Great Britain, France, and their dependencies, but allowed trade with other European ports. These laws—

- a. Led to a commercial crisis in England owing to the rise in price of American goods;
- β. Promoted the development of manufactures in New England;
- γ. Ruined many southern planters, who could not sell their surplus stock of tobacco.

B. The question of impressment.

(1) The British claimed the right of searching American ships for deserters.

(2) The Americans readily granted papers of naturalisation to aliens, and frequently encouraged British sailors to desert and take service in the American navy.

The British refused to recognise such naturalisation, and maintained that British subjects owed "inalienable obedience" to their country.

(3) Owing to the vigorous assertion of British claims (notably in 1807, when three American citizens and one English deserter were taken by force from an American ship), several thousand American subjects had been impressed for service on British ships.

C. The Americans thought that the British gave countenance, if not actual aid, to the Shawnee chief Tecumthe, who had stirred up rebellion in the north-west.

D. The attitude of British statesmen to America aggravated the ill-feeling. Canning, in 1812, said that "generally speaking, they [the Americans] were not a people we should be proud to acknowledge as our relations," and one of the British envoys, Jackson, aggravated the dispute by his lack of tact and consideration.

II. The War.

A. On land.

(1) The great lakes. Lake Erie.

1812. The Americans attempted to attack Upper Canada from the two ends of Lake Erie, but were defeated by the British and Tecumthe at Detroit in August, and by the British at Queenstown in October.

1813. A victory of Commodore Perry secured Lake Erie for the Americans.

Lake Ontario.

1813. The Americans captured Toronto and burnt the Parliament House, but an attack on Montreal failed.

1814. July. General Drummond defeated the Americans at Lundy's Lane, near Niagara.

(2) Washington.

Major-General Ross, whose force had been strengthened by the addition of some Peninsular veterans, defeated the Americans at Bladensburg, captured Washington, and burnt the public buildings.

- a. This act was regarded as a retaliation for the burning of the Parliament House at Toronto and of Canadian private property.
- β. It was apparently justified by the strict rules of war, but was generally regarded as a piece of vandalism.

1814. Ross was killed in an unsuccessful attack on Baltimore.

(3) New Orleans.

1815. January (after the Treaty of Ghent had been signed). Failure of a mismanaged attack by Peninsular soldiers on New Orleans, which was skilfully defended by Andrew Jackson, afterwards President. Death of the British general, Sir Edward Pakenham (Wellington's brother-in-law).

B. At sea. No great naval battle, but many duels between individual ships.

(1) Contrary to expectation, the Americans gained many naval successes, partly owing to superior shooting, partly because American frigates were more heavily armed and timbered than British.

1812. August. Capture of the British frigate *Guerrière* by the American *Constitution*.

(2) In consequence of repeated losses the British strengthened their frigates, improved their shooting, and chose better crews.

1813. June 1. The British frigate *Shannon*, Captain Broke, owing to superior gunnery and a gallant feat of boarding, captured in fifteen minutes the *Chesapeake*, Captain Lawrence. Subsequent operations were less important and fairly even in result.

(3) Great damage was done to British merchantmen even in British waters by American privateers; 1607 British ships were taken by the Americans, who captured a dispatch boat in the Straits of Dover and gained many successes off the coast of Ireland.

III. The Treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814—

Made peace, but settled none of the points at issue. The commercial disputes were settled by the fall of Napoleon. The frontier boundaries were left for future settlement.

[1846. The Oregon Treaty fixed the forty-ninth parallel as the boundary between the United States and Canada.]

IV. General Notes.

- A. Great Britain did not wish to fight, but was forced into war partly owing to ineffective diplomacy. The urgent need of checking Napoleon distracted the attention of British statesmen from the American War, and partly accounts for the inefficiency of their arrangements.
- B. The war endangered the cause of freedom in Europe by setting "one free people against another free people in the interest of Napoleon, the real enemy of them both."
- C. The war showed the great risks run by a commercial state from privateers, even when the opposing navy was kept in check, and greatly embittered the ill-feeling between England and the United States.

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THE TREATIES OF PARIS AND THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

I. The Battle of Leipzig, 1813.

A. Napoleon's authority had been weakened.

- (1) His prestige had been impaired by the Russian campaign of 1812, and Wellington's successes had shown that the French army was not invincible.
- (2) Napoleon in 1812 and 1813 had lost three-quarters of a million of men by death, wounds, or capture, and the newly enrolled conscripts were far inferior to the veterans they replaced.
- (3) The conviction that Napoleon was fighting for his own interests rather than those of France made the French less ready to support him.

B. Europe had united against Napoleon.

- (1) Alexander I was anxious to take vengeance for the invasion of Russia.
- (2) Frederick William III had been won over by Alexander, and strongly resented the domination of Prussia by the French (1806-12). Prussian national feeling had been roused by the reforms of Stein (who had abolished serfdom and diminished the privileges of the nobility), of Scharnhorst (who organised the Prussian army), of William von Humboldt (who established a national system of education).
- (3) Bernadotte, Crown Prince of Sweden, although one of Napoleon's marshals, joined the allies, who confirmed him in the possession of Norway, which he had seized.
- (4) The King of Bavaria, who owed his position to Napoleon, on receiving from Prussia and Austria a guarantee of independence, also joined the allies but Napoleon retained Saxony for a time.

- (5) Great Britain continued the Peninsular War, and Castlereagh's firmness and liberal grants kept the allies together.
- (6) Francis II, Emperor of Austria, although Napoleon had married his daughter Marie Louise, April 2, 1810, declared war August 12, 1813, because Napoleon refused to limit France to her "natural boundaries"—the Rhine and the Alps, and partly owing to Wellington's victory at Vittoria, June 21, 1813.

C. The battle of Leipzig, October 16–19, 1813

Called the "Battle of Nations," lasted three days, during which 110,000 men were killed or wounded. Napoleon was weakened by the desertion of the Saxons and overwhelmed by superior numbers. Central Europe and Holland rose against Napoleon. The allies invaded France, Napoleon was again defeated at Arcis-sur-Aube, and the allies entered Paris March 31, 1814.

II. The Provisional Treaty of Paris.

A provisional Government was formed with Talleyrand as President.

Louis XVIII,¹ brother of Louis XVI, was made king owing to the diplomacy of Talleyrand.

Napoleon abdicated and made the provisional Treaty of Paris with Austria, Prussia, and Russia, by which it was provided that—

- (1) Napoleon should give up all claim to the thrones of France and Italy and receive the principality of Elba and £180,000 a year.
- (2) Marie Louise should receive the Duchy of Parma.

This was a treaty with Napoleon and not with France.

¹ The title of Louis XVII was given to the Dauphin, who died a prisoner in the Temple June 10, 1795.

III. The First Treaty of Paris, May 30, 1814.

Made by Talleyrand, acting for Louis XVIII, and the allies.

- (1) France to be limited to the territories she held on January 1, 1792, with the addition of Western Savoy and portions of Alsace. No indemnity required from France.
- (2) All French colonies to be restored except Mauritius, St. Lucia, and Tobago.
- (3) Germany to become a Confederacy.
- (4) Holland and Belgium to be united under the sovereignty of the House of Orange.
- (5) Austria to receive Venice and Lombardy.
- (6) Italy to be divided into independent states.
- (7) The independence of Switzerland guaranteed.
- (8) A European congress at Vienna to make final arrangements.

IV The Congress of Vienna, November, 1814–June, 1815.

A. Talleyrand's successful diplomacy.

The intention of Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria to dominate the Congress was most skilfully foiled by Talleyrand, who took advantage of the strong resentment roused by the attempts of Russia and Prussia to secure Poland and Saxony, to unite against them Great Britain (jealous of Russia), Austria (jealous of Prussia), France, and many smaller states. The danger of war between the two parties, at one time imminent, was averted, and France, although so recently decimated, played a most important part in the Congress.

B. Other difficult questions were—

(1) The settlement of Italy.

- a. Metternich wished to confirm Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law, in the kingdom of Naples, in which he had succeeded Joseph Bonaparte.
- β. Great Britain had promised to secure the independence of Genoa.
- γ. The proposal to give Parma and Piacenza to Marie Louise roused considerable opposition.
- δ. The idea of the unity of Italy, supported by Murat and possibly favoured by Great Britain, was strongly opposed by the majority.

(2) The Norwegians objected to union with Sweden, and Belgium objected to union with Holland.

(3) Prussia claimed Luxemburg, which would have unduly strengthened her position in the west.

C. The final settlement.

- (1) Prussia received Swedish Pomerania, Westphalia, Northern Saxony, the parts of Poland gained by the two first partitions (1772 and 1793), and the left bank of the Rhine from Aix-la-Chapelle to Mayence.
- (2) Russia obtained the Duchy of Warsaw in Poland and Finland, ceded by Sweden.
- (3) Italy, which Metternich declared was "only a geographical expression," was not united.
 - a. Murat was shot, and the Bourbon Ferdinand IV regained Naples.
 - β. Marie Louise received Parma and Piacenza for her life.
 - γ. Genoa was given to Sardinia.

- (4) The crowns of Sweden and Norway were united, but Norway was not incorporated in Sweden.
- (5) Holland and Belgium were united under the House of Orange.
- (6) Luxemburg was formed into a Grand Duchy and given to the House of Orange, although not united with Holland.
- (7) Switzerland became a confederation, and its independence was guaranteed by the powers.
- (8) Germany was organised as a confederation of thirty-eight lay states with a permanent Diet sitting at Frankfirt under the authority of Austria. The ecclesiastical states, which had played a great part in the history of Germany, were abolished.
- (9) Austria recovered Venetia and Lombardy and received the Tyrol.
- (10) Great Britain kept Ceylon, the Cape of Good Hope, Trinidad, St. Lucia, Tobago, Malta, Heligoland, and the protectorate of the Ionian Islands.

D. Criticism.

- (1) Great Britain, which had spent £600,000,000 on the war, did not derive the advantage that her great efforts against Napoleon deserved and her influence at the Congress would have warranted. The break-up of Napoleon's empire made British subsidies no longer necessary for the opponents of France, and partly accounts for the subsequent weakening of British influence in Europe.
- (2) The principle of nationality (page 661) was disregarded. The tendency towards unity in the case of Italy and Germany was checked. An attempt was made to unite Sweden and Norway and Holland and Belgium in spite of strong national differences. The history of the nineteenth century is largely the history of the failure of these arrangements.

(3) The extension of Russia to the west brought her into closer relation with European politics, and the acquisition of Finland by Russia and of Swedish Pomerania by Prussia made these nations supreme in the Baltic, and greatly diminished the importance of Denmark and Sweden.

(4) The Congress of Vienna inaugurated the "system of the Great Powers," which involved the diminution in the influence of the secondary powers and led to—

September 26, 1815. The Holy Alliance made by Russia, Austria, and Prussia. England refused to join.

a. By this treaty Christianity was declared the basis of good government, and the three sovereigns undertook to act with Christian brotherhood to each other.

β. But their main aim was to strengthen monarchical power and to prevent the extension of the idea of the sovereignty of the people.

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The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, 1812-15, Webster. Chaps. iv-viii. (Bell.)
The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, Vol. II, chap. i.

THE HUNDRED DAYS AND ST. HELENA

I. The Return of Napoleon to Paris, March 20, 1815.

A. The Bourbons had "learned nothing and forgotten nothing" in exile. Louis XVIII had granted a charter guaranteeing representative government and individual liberty, but the people had been alienated by the favour shown to returned émigrés, and by the violence of the restored clergy. The entry of the allies into Paris had ren-

national feeling, and the army longed for the return of Napoleon, although many of his marshals professed loyalty to Louis XVI, and Ney, on hearing he had landed, promised to bring him to Paris "in an iron cage."

B. 1 March, 1815. Napoleon landed near Cannes. He gained the enthusiastic support of the army, including Ney, and was welcomed by the people as the only man who could save them from the hated domination of the allies. Louis XVIII fled to Ghent. Napoleon entered Paris March 20. He promised individual liberty and the freedom of the Press, and in less than three months raised 140,000 efficient soldiers and 200,000 reserves.

C. Napoleon's return united the allies, who declared that he was "abandoned to public justice," and prepared to invade France from the south-east, through Alsace and Lorraine and through the Low Countries. Napoleon determined to attack the extreme right of the allies in Belgium, where the people strongly resented their recent union with Holland (page 701).

II. Ligny and Quatre Bras, June 16, 1815.

A. Wellington's army was stationed near Brussels, Blücher's near Liège. Their object was to unite their forces and to march on Paris. Napoleon wished to attack them separately, to crush them before they united, and then to capture Brussels.

B. June 16. Napoleon defeated Blücher at Ligny. Blücher retired in good order, not to Namur (about twenty-five miles from Waterloo) as Napoleon expected, but to Wavre (only about ten miles from Waterloo).

C. June 16. Mainly owing to the valour of Picton's infantry, Wellington successfully resisted Ney's furious attack at Quatre Bras and withdrew to Waterloo where, relying upon Blücher's promised aid, he resolved to fight Napoleon.

D. Napoleon's manœuvres were far superior to those of his opponents, who were taken by surprise owing to the rapidity of his approach. If all his plans had been carried out he would probably have defeated Wellington and captured Brussels, but—

- a. Owing to unwise delay at Ligny he failed to press home the advantage he gained and to prevent the orderly retreat of the greater part of Blücher's army;
- β. The position at Quatre Bras was held at first by a Dutch-Belgian force, whom Ney would have defeated if he had attacked them earlier. His delay gave Wellington time to bring up British reinforcements.
- γ. Owing to contradictory orders from Napoleon and Ney, D'Erlon's corps of 20,000 men, who would have ensured a complete victory at Ligny or Quatre Bras, did not come into action at all on June 16.
- δ. Napoleon sent Grouchy to the south-east towards Namur to pursue Blücher, who had actually retreated in a northerly direction to Wavre.
- ε. June 17. Napoleon, not owing to illness (he "was in his usual health": Rose), but to his belief that there was no further danger from Blücher, neglected to join Ney and march on Quatre Bras. Had he done so he would probably have captured Brussels.

III. Waterloo, June 18, 1815.

A. The opposing forces.

- (1) Wellington's army numbered 67,000, including 24,000 British troops, 6000 Brunswickers, 11,000 Hanoverians, and 17,000 Dutch Belgians. The last were untrustworthy, many of the British troops were

militia recruits, and racial differences impaired the cohesion of the army "in which five languages were spoken."

(2) Napoleon's army numbered 72,000, mostly experienced soldiers, and he had a great advantage in artillery and cavalry.

B. The arrangement of the troops.

(1) Wellington's front, held by infantry and guns, extended for about two miles along the crest of a slope. His right was protected by the wood and château of Hougoumont. Sixty yards in front of the centre was the farm of La Haye Sainte. The reserves were stationed behind Hougoumont, and most of the cavalry in the rear of the centre. In front of the extreme left were the hamlets of La Haye and Papelotte, and Smohain. Wellington has been blamed for not bringing into action 17,000 men whom he had sent to guard the approach to Brussels.

(2) Napoleon's front consisted of two lines of infantry, its centre resting on the farm of La Belle Alliance. Behind these came the cavalry; the Imperial Guard was posted as reserve in the rear. The village of Planchenoit lay behind the right centre.

C. The battle.

Wellington stood on the defensive. Napoleon delayed his attack until the sun dried the muddy ground sufficiently to admit of rapid manoeuvres. This delay was of supreme importance, as the Prussians, whom Grouchy had failed to cut off, were hurrying to the field as fast as the very heavy country allowed.

(1) 11.30 a.m. First attack on Hougoumont, which was gallantly defended all the day against vastly superior forces by the Guards, whose success made the French left ineffective.

(2) 1.30 p.m. D'Erlon's attack on La Haye Sainte repulsed by Picton's infantry and Ponsonby's Union Brigade of cavalry, including the Scots Greys who charged shouting "Scotland for ever!" Death of Picton and Ponsonby.

This success saved the day, although the British advanced too far and suffered greatly in consequence, for by this time the vanguard of the Prussians was drawing near, and the danger to his right compelled Napoleon to withdraw some of his forces from the main battle to check the advancing Prussians.

(3) 4.0-6.0 p.m. After a heavy cannonade Napoleon sent his cavalry, under the command of Ney, four times against the British centre, where the infantry, now formed into squares, stood "rooted in the earth." The French cavalry "foamed themselves away" against the squares, and suffered great loss owing to the repeated charges of the British cavalry.

(4) About 4.30 the Prussian vanguard, under Bülow, appeared on the French right.

(5) Ney captured La Haye Sainte, thus securing a position within sixty yards of Wellington's centre.

(6) 8.0 p.m. Napoleon, realising the danger from the Prussians, made a last attempt, sending the Imperial Guard in two divisions against the British right and centre, and ordering his infantry to attack all along the line. The attempt failed. The charge of the British Guards, under Maitland, and the 52nd Regiment, under Colborne, broke the Imperial Guard and decided the victory. Wellington¹ ordered "a general advance in line." The thin red line drove the French in confusion, and Wellington at La Belle Alliance met Blücher, whose forces pursued the defeated French and completed the destruction of Napoleon's army.

¹ He did not say, "Up, Guards, and at 'em!" but "Stand up, Guards, d—n 'em, d—y!"

D. Criticism.

- (1) Napoleon had lessened his chance of success by his failure to follow up his advantage on June 17. He did not appreciate the danger from the returning Prussians, and by using the Imperial Guard to attack the British he exposed the French rear to Blucher's forces.
- (2) Napoleon ascribed his defeat to "la bravoure obstinée et indomitable des troupes Anglaises"; and the brilliant charges of Ney (who had four horses shot under him) failed owing to the dogged resistance of the British, who may rightly claim to have defeated Napoleon. But the British, who had been under fire for nine hours, were too tired to press home their advantage. The Prussians had helped the British by their attacks on the right and rear of the French, and they turned the defeat of Napoleon into a rout by the vigour of their pursuit.
- (3) The battle showed an interesting difference of tactics between Napoleon, who always attacked in column, and Wellington, who preferred to attack in line

IV. St. Helena.

Napoleon left the field of Waterloo crying, "All is lost!" and fled to Paris. The allies entered Paris July 3, and Blucher, infuriated by the humiliation of Prussia by Napoleon after Jena, wished to shoot Napoleon and blow up the bridge of Jena. Napoleon fled to Rochefort, and on the *Bellerophon* threw himself "upon the hospitality of the British nation." He was sent to St. Helena, where he died of cancer May 5, 1821.

The treatment of Napoleon at St. Helena has aroused fierce controversy.

- (1) It was obviously necessary to keep him under strict surveillance, and the alternative schemes of allowing him to settle in England or America were impossible.
- (2) But Lord Rosebery declares that the unpleasantness of his captivity was unduly aggravated by the lack of tact and foolish suspicions of the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, by the refusal of the British Government to recognise the imperial rank of "General Bonaparte," by "the scandalous parsimony" with which he was treated, and the unnecessary strictness of his custody.
- (3) Others, notably Dr. Rose, applaud Sir Hudson Lowe's performance of his most difficult task, assert that repeated plans for Napoleon's escape made strict custody necessary, and maintain that Napoleon was guilty of rudeness and treachery towards Lowe.
- (4) The difficulty of forming an opinion is increased by the extraordinary unveracity of the diaries kept by Napoleon's companions.

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 (Chatto and Windus.)
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NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

I. Difference between his Early and Later Policy.

- A. At the beginning of his career his policy was national. He saved France from foreign foes by his victories at Lodi, 1796, Rivoli, 1797, Marengo, 1800, and Austerlitz, 1805, and used the power thus gained to reform internal abuses (especially in 1799, page 678) and to reorganise the Government.
- B. But later, possibly after the Treaty of Tilsit, 1807, his policy did not promote the best interests of France. His determination to humble England, combined with his desire for the mastery of Europe, led him into vast schemes of conquest which drained the resources of France and injured her commerce without conferring corresponding benefits. After Austerlitz none of his wars had the approval of France.
- C. His later policy, though at times brilliant, is marked by serious faults.
 - (1) His great success made him underestimate the forces against him. He failed to appreciate
 - a. The financial resources of England;
 - β . The strength of national resistance in Spain, Portugal, England, Russia, and, after 1812, Prussia.
 - γ . The dependence of Europe upon English commerce.
 - (2) He showed conspicuous moderation in 1799 to the priests and to the supporters of the Bourbons, but later his tyranny "changed suffering allies into merciless enemies," e.g.—
 - a. His treatment of Austria after Austerlitz.
 - β . His policy towards Spain in 1808;
 - γ . His great cruelty towards Prussia after Jena.

(3) His ambition grew with success. He wished to emulate Alexander the Great, and his overweening self-confidence made him undertake great operations without due consideration of the difficulties involved, e.g. the Russian campaign.

II. Napoleon and the French Revolution.

A. Napoleon once asserted "I am the Revolution," and that movement, by sweeping away the old and by paving the way for military despotism, gave to Napoleon, the idol of the army, an opportunity of showing his power of organisation and reconstruction.

B. But in important points he was opposed to the ideas of the Revolution.

- (1) The Revolution had accepted the principle of nationality, but Napoleon in his desire to extend his dominions, showed himself strongly antinational, especially in Prussia and Spain.
- (2) The excesses of the Paris mob during the Reign of Terror horrified Napoleon. He thoroughly distrusted "the people," whom the Revolution had unduly exalted. To him the Paris mob were *canaille* to be repressed by force. He recognised the levity and feebleness of character which resulted from the rapid changes of the Revolution, and his colonial policy and the revival of the gaiety of Paris under his rule were partly due to the desire to divert the attention of the populace from the problems of government, with which he thought them unfit to cope.
- (3) The Revolution was mainly destructive, and failed to establish a strong efficient government in place of the old regime it had swept away. Napoleon, who realised the need of stable and orderly government, was a great constructive statesman.
- (4) The Revolution tended to decentralisation, and thereby imperilled the unity of France. Napoleon established an organised despotism with its centre at Paris.

III. The Reorganisation of France by Napoleon.

A. Local government.

- (1) The Revolution had aimed at decentralisation, and had "split France into forty thousand republics" (Burke), by bestowing self-government on the communes.
- (2) Napoleon continued the Departments established by the Constituent Assembly, but appointed in each a Prefect with subordinate officials, sub-prefects and mayors, in the smaller areas. All these officials represented the central power, and thus the centralised despotism of the Bourbons was practically re-established.

B. Legal reforms.

- (1) Napoleon restored to the State the appointment of judges, which had been made elective under the Revolution, and established Courts of Appeal.
- (2) The codification of the law.

Napoleon rendered inestimable service to French jurisprudence by ensuring the compilation of the Code Napoleon, divided into four parts dealing with civil, commercial, penal, and criminal cases. The Code Napoleon—

- a. Established uniformity of principles and procedure ;
 - β . Strengthened the authority of the father over his family ;
 - γ . Weakened the position of women ;
 - δ . Limited the right of a testator over the disposal of his property. This provision, to which Napoleon was opposed, has had an important effect in limiting the birth-rate in France.

C. Education.

- (1) Establishment of the new University of France, with general control over the education of the country.

- (2) Organisation of secondary education and foundation of many *lycées*, with special provision for science.
- (3) Less success followed Napoleon's attempt to organise elementary education.

The close supervision exercised by the State tended to make French education too mechanical.

D. The Concordat.

The ecclesiastical policy of the Revolution had led to fierce opposition between Church and State. The Pope objected to the civil constitution of the clergy, and, owing to discussions between different parties and general disorder, the Church had become a danger and scandal to the nation. Napoleon, anxious for order, made in 1802 the Concordat with Pope Pius VII, by which—

- (1) Roman Catholicism was accepted as the religion of France, which came into full communion with Rome.
- (2) The supremacy of the State was asserted over the Church, especially in the nomination of bishops.
- (3) Religious liberty was granted to other sects.

This arrangement—

- a. Shows the great difference between Napoleon and the Revolution;
- β. Healed the schism between orthodox and "constitutional" priests;
- γ. Secured for Napoleon the support of the Papacy

E. The Legion of Honour was established to encourage merit among civilians.

IV. Napoleon as a General.

- A. He believed firmly in what he called "the divine side of war," i.e. in the use of intellect as distinct from mere material force. He possessed in a remarkable degree "the gift of strategic imagination."

- B. His plans were bold, but not, in his earlier period, impossible for a man of his practical ability, e.g. the campaign of Marengo, 1800.
- C. His power of striking hard and swiftly at the decisive point was of great value in view of the lack of cohesion among the forces of the Coalitions.
 - a. 1805. The capitulation of Mack at Ulm ensured the failure of simultaneous expeditions in Holland and Italy.
 - β. 1805. The victory at Austerlitz was due to Napoleon's vigorous and well-timed attack on the centre of the Austrian army, which had been weakened by the withdrawal of a large force which was attempting to turn Napoleon's right flank.
 - γ. 1815. His decision to attack Wellington and Blucher instead of awaiting the general advance of the allies was wise; his rapid advance gained him a distinct advantage. His failure was due largely to lack of effective co-operation on the part of his generals.
- D. He generally made a skilful use of advantages of position, especially—
 - a. Of the line of the Adige in 1797, but
 - β. His choice of the line of the Elbe in 1813 was bad, because it was easy for the allies with their superior numbers to turn this position.
- E. His policy of making his army "live on the country" enabled him to reduce the amount of his baggage and facilitated rapid movement. But it failed in poor countries, such as Spain and Russia.
- F. In military matters he displayed great power of organisation and a remarkable knowledge of detail, e.g. in the equipment of the army of England, 1804.

V. Personal Characteristics.

- A. His personality was overwhelming, and he exercised a remarkable fascination over those he met, e.g. over his soldiers, in spite of the callousness with which he squandered their lives, over Alexander I, especially at Tilsit, 1807, and over the crew of the *Bellerophon*.
- B. But he had little capacity for friendship, and in the hour of need was deserted by all (including his wife), except the few devoted adherents who accompanied him to St. Helena.
- C. He said, "I am not a man like other men," and thought that religious and moral restrictions did not bind him. Although in his will he professed adherence to the Apostolic Roman Church, he was probably a materialist without belief in Christ. His private life was shamelessly immoral.
- D. But he was a man of outstanding and many-sided ability. "He carried human faculty to the farthest point of which we have accurate knowledge."

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(Bell and Sons.)
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(Putnam.)
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(Humphreys.)
- C. *My Uncle Bernac*.

THE CONDITION OF ENGLAND, 1815-20

I. The Royal Family.

The King's insanity kept him in the background. The Royal Family were deservedly unpopular.

- (1) The Prince Regent (George IV, 1820-30), although "the first gentleman in Europe," was most unpopular owing to his gross immorality, his extravagance, and his stubborn opposition to progress.
- (2) The Prince Regent's only child, Princess Charlotte, married Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg (King of the Belgians, 1830-1865), but died November 6, 1817.
- (3) As there were no legitimate grandchildren of George III, four royal marriages were announced in 1818.
 - a. The Princess Elizabeth married the Landgrave of Hesse Homburg.
 - β . The Duke of Clarence (afterwards William IV) married Adelaide of Saxe Meiningen.
 - γ . The Duke of Cambridge married Augusta of Hesse.
 - δ . The Duke of Kent married Victoria of Saxe-Coburg, sister of Prince Leopold.

The unpopularity of the Royal Family was shown by the reluctance of the Commons to grant marriage allowances.

- a. £10,000 a year was asked for the Duke of Clarence, but the Commons voted only £6000, which he refused to accept.
- β . Strong, although unavailing, opposition was offered to the grant of £6000 for the dukes of Cambridge and Kent respectively.
- γ . The Commons refused to give the additional grant requested for the Duke of Cumberland.
- (4) The Princess of Wales (Caroline) became Queen 1820.

The Prince Regent had married Caroline of Brunswick. After her separation from him her most indiscreet conduct caused grave scandal. She lived abroad from 1814-20.

1820. The ministers refused to agree to the King's demand for a divorce unless the Queen returned to England, but ordered that she was not to be received at foreign courts, and that her name should be removed from the Liturgy.

1820. June. In spite of the advice of Henry Brougham, her Attorney-General, she returned to England, and was received with enthusiasm by the people who hated the King. She refused to live abroad unless her name was inserted in the Prayer Book and she was received with royal honours at foreign courts.

1820. 8 July. Liverpool introduced a Bill of Pains and Penalties, depriving her of her title and dissolving her marriage. The Bill, strongly supported by Eldon, was carried by only nine votes in the Lords and therefore dropped. These proceedings won public sympathy for the Queen, and London was illuminated for three nights after the withdrawal of the Bill.

The Commons, largely owing to Brougham, voted her an annuity of £50,000, but her foolish attempt to force her way into Westminster Abbey at the King's coronation 19 July, 1821, alienated public sympathy.

1821. 7 August. Death of Queen Caroline.

II. The Tory Ministry of Lord Liverpool, 1812-27.

- A. Liverpool and his colleagues had strongly supported Wellington and actively opposed Napoleon, whose fall was largely due to their efforts.
- B. After the fall of Napoleon they refused to join the Holy Alliance (page 702), but acquiesced in the restoration of the unpopular Bourbons in France, and in the growth of the power of Russia, thus promoting the cause of

absolutism. The Aliens Act of 1818, by which the Government reserved the right of expelling aliens, and the Foreign Enlistment Act of 1819, to prevent British subjects from volunteering for service abroad, were due to their sympathy with foreign rulers.

- C. Their desire to continue half the Income Tax, levied as a war tax, in time of peace, and to maintain an army of 150,000 men, presumably for further interference on the Continent if necessary, aroused great opposition.
- D. In domestic politics the ministry was conservative¹ and reactionary, especially Castlereagh, the Foreign Secretary (succeeded in 1822 by Canning, whose policy was more liberal), Eldon, the Lord Chancellor, and Sidmouth (formerly Addington), the Home Secretary. They failed to deal with the "Condition of England" question (the condition of the poorest classes), the Poor Law, Parliamentary and Social Reform, Education, and the reorganisation of the finances. The Whigs, who did not obtain office until 1830, therefore adopted the policy of Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform.
- E. Although Prime Minister, Liverpool did not prominently identify himself with any of the chief problems of the day, and he was overshadowed by Castlereagh in the early and by Canning in the later period of his administration. But he was a man of great tact, gained the confidence of his supporters, and for nearly fifteen years his personal influence kept together a ministry some of the members of which were divided by serious differences of opinion and by personal antipathy. His disablement by illness deprived the ministry of its bond of union.

III. Causes of Distress and Discontent.

From various reasons England suffered more from 1815-21 than during the Napoleonic wars.

¹ The term Conservative was not employed as a party name until 1831.

A. Political.

Parliament did not represent the nation. Seats were not distributed according to population, there was no uniform qualification for the franchise, "pocket" boroughs gave to their owners undue influence in the Commons, and bribery was general.

B. Financial.

- (1) Owing to the war the National Debt had increased to £800,000,000, and the interest of this was a heavy charge on the country.
- (2) The people objected to the cost of maintaining a large army in time of peace, and to the retention of half of the Property Tax.
1816. In spite of the opposition of the Government, Brougham carried a motion for the repeal of the Property Tax (which was reimposed as Income Tax in 1842).
- (3) Largely owing to the extravagance of the Prince of Wales the Civil List had greatly increased, and amounted to nearly £1,500,000 in 1815.
- (4) The necessity of spending large sums on the war had led to great extravagance in the administration of the finances, even in time of peace, and Vansittart proved an incompetent Chancellor of the Exchequer, repealing without sufficient reason in 1816 the profitable malt tax, and proposing to add to the burden of debt by raising £11,500,000 by loan instead of by temporarily suspending the Sinking Fund.
- (5) Much money was squandered in unnecessary pensions.
- (6) Trade was hampered by the "delusive paper currency," the Bank of England notes being at a discount.

C. Agricultural.

The fall of Napoleon marked the end of the period of agricultural prosperity, which had been somewhat fictitious.

- (1) Bad harvests and the Continental System led to a rise in prices, and the average price of wheat from 1808-13 was 108s. per quarter. The supply of labour was ample, and the low wages which resulted were further diminished by the absurd Poor Law, which gave relief to able-bodied paupers in proportion to the size of their families. Thus the advantage of the rise in prices went to the farmers and landlords, while the "poor man's bread was made dear in order that the rich man's rental might be high."
- (2) 1813. A good harvest caused a fall in prices, which ruined many yeomen farmers and caused the failure of many country banks. Owing to this and to the fear of Continental competition
- (3) 1815. A Corn Law was passed to protect the landed class, prohibiting the importation of corn until the price reached 80s. a quarter.
- (4) 1815. A severe winter was followed by a bad harvest in 1816. This led to a rise in the price of wheat, which rose from 52s. 6d. per quarter in January, 1816, to 111s. 6d. in June, 1817.

D. Commercial.

During the war British export trade, especially with South America, had increased in spite of the Continental System; Britain secured the carrying trade of the world, and the colonial empire grew.

- (1) But after the war British trade suffered because—
 - a. Continental purchasers were greatly impoverished by the war;
 - b. Manufactures on the Continent were re-established
- (2) The displacement of labour by machinery continued.

E. Many men could not find work.

The large number of men unemployed owing to agricultural depression and the use of machinery was increased by disbanded soldiers and sailors. In four years 121,000 seamen were discharged. A number of officers found employment in the colonies or foreign service (e.g. Lord Cochrane in the service of Chili and Brazil), but there was great distress among officers and men.

IV. The Leaders of Opposition.

- A. Sir Francis Burdett and Lord John Russell led the Reform party in the Commons.**
- B. William Cobbett (1762-1835), the leading journalist of the time, originally a ploughman, published in 1802 the *Weekly Political Register*, which, when in 1816 its price was reduced to 2d., obtained a circulation of 50,000 weekly. He opposed the use of force, looked to Parliament for redress of grievances, and advocated annual parliaments and universal suffrage. Largely owing to his influence, many "Hampden societies" were founded to secure these objects.**
- C. "Orator" Hunt, a Wiltshire farmer, was a prominent**
- D. Thomas Spence, bookseller, advocated the nationalisation of land as a means of alleviating distress.**
- E. Thistlewood was the leader of the "physical force" party, whose violence gravely discredited the attempts of moderate men to secure the redress of grievances by lawful means.**

V. Riots, Disaffection, and Repression.**A. The destruction of machinery.**

- (1) The Luddites (named after an imbecile, Ned Ludd, who in a fit of passion broke two stocking frames) in 1811 broke stocking frames and burnt factories in**

Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, and occasionally murdered those who resisted.

1812 The breaking of machinery was made a capital offence, and twelve Luddites were hanged at York.

(2) Luddism died down for a time partly owing to the good harvest of 1813, but revived after the bad one of 1816. Destruction of new implements and machinery by agricultural labourers in the eastern counties.

1816. May. Seizure of Littleport, in Cambridgeshire, by rioters, who were dispersed by military force.

B. The Spa Fields Riot, December 2, 1816.

Due to the "Spenceans" and extremists led by Thistlewood. Their object was to seize the Tower and set up a Committee of Public Safety. Pillage of gunsmiths' shops. The Lord Mayor, Matthew Wood, bravely resisted, and dispersed the rioters at the Royal Exchange.

C. The attack on the Regent, January 28, 1817.

A London crowd mobbed the Regent on his return from opening Parliament, and broke his carriage windows.

Parliament wrongly regarded these riots as proofs of the imminent danger of a revolution, which they declared to be the object of the Hampden clubs, which aimed only at parliamentary reform.

(1) February 21, 1817. Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act until January 28, 1818, when it was restored by Parliament.

(2) March 27, 1817. Lord Sidmouth, by circular, ordered Lords-Lieutenant to apprehend and to hold to bail persons accused of publishing blasphemous and seditious libels.

- a. This was an infringement of the liberty of the Press, and was contrary to the spirit of Fox's Libel Act, 1792, which strictly reserved to the jury the right of deciding the fact and character of a libel.
- b. The attempt failed, and only one conviction was secured.
- c. In spite of the efforts of Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough to secure a conviction, the jury on December 18 and 19 acquitted Wm. Hone of three charges of blasphemous libel for publishing parodies on—
 - 1. The Lord's Prayer, Commandments, and Catechism;
 - 2. The Litany;
 - 3. The Athanasian Creed.

The failure of these charges greatly discredited the Government.

D. The march of the Blanketeers, March, 1817.

A peaceful march of some hundreds of Lancashire men, carrying blankets to keep themselves warm, to petition the Regent for relief. The Blanketeers got no further than Macclesfield.

E. The Derbyshire insurrection, June, 1817.

Stirred up by "Captain" Brandreth, partly owing to the influence of "Oliver the Spy," a Government agent, and partly owing to the hope of union with the "northern clouds" of agitators from Yorkshire and Lancashire. The movement was very easily suppressed by a small military force near Nottingham.

F. The Manchester or Peterloo Massacre, August 16, 1819.

The cause of political reform (although discredited owing to its unfair identification with the extreme measures of the "physical force" party) was growing

stronger. Although it had been declared illegal, a meeting was held in St. Peter's Fields, Manchester, to follow the example of Birmingham, by choosing a "legislatorial representative." The crowd, variously estimated from 50,000 to 100,000, carried sticks but no arms, but showed by their orderly movements that they had been drilled. The magistrates most foolishly sent a body of yeomanry to arrest the "Radical,"¹ Orator Hunt, on the platform in the middle of the throng, and then, thinking the yeomanry were in danger, ordered four troops of the 15th Hussars to charge the dense crowd. Eleven were killed, about seventy conveyed to hospital, and the injured lay in "several mounds." The indignation caused was aggravated by the approval expressed by the Government and Regent of the action of the magistrates. Hunt was convicted of misdemeanour and not of high treason for his share in the meeting.

G. The Six Acts.

Owing to the Peterloo Massacre, the Government, believing that "every meeting for Radical Reform is an overt act of treasonable conspiracy against the King and the Government," passed the Six Acts for which Castle-reagh and Sidmouth were chiefly responsible. These were—

- (1) "To prevent delay in the administration of justice in cases of misdemeanour." Defendants lost the right of objecting to the framing of the accusation, but were not liable to prosecution after twelve months.
- (2) "For the prevention and punishment of blasphemous and seditious libels." Copies of libels to be seized. Publishers liable to imprisonment or transportation.
- (3) "To prevent the training of persons in the use of arms and the practice of military evolutions."

¹ The term Radical was now applied to parliamentary reformers, owing to their desire for radical (L. *radix*=a root) changes.

- (4) "To authorise justices of the peace in certain disturbed counties to seize and detain arms."
- (5) "To subject certain publications to the duties of stamps upon newspapers."
- (6) "For the prevention of the assembling of seditious meetings."
 - a. Six days' notice to a justice of the peace necessary for all meetings of more than fifty persons. The justice to change time and place of meeting at his discretion.
 - β. Lecture-rooms and reading-rooms to be liable to inspection.
 - γ. Meetings tending to cause contempt of the King or Government declared unlawful and liable to summary dispersion.

Criticism.

- (1) Act VI was a very serious limitation of the liberty of the subject to meet publicly, but its operation was limited to five years.
- (2) Act II was not rigorously enforced and was repealed in 1830.
- (3) Acts III and IV were not harsh in view of the disorders of the times.
- (4) Act V applied to pamphlets the restrictions of newspapers.

The general tendency of the Acts was thoroughly reactionary but they proved successful, and the Cato Street Conspiracy seemed to justify them.

As a rule they were not harshly enforced, and, with the improvement of the economic conditions of the country, disorder decreased

H. The Cato Street Conspiracy, February, 1820.

A plot formed by Arthur Thistlewood, a strong supporter of the extreme reformers, to assassinate the ministers at a dinner party at Lord Harrowby's house in Grosvenor Square and then to seize the Bank and the Tower. An informer, Edwards, revealed the plot to the police. Failure of a badly arranged attempt to seize the conspirators in a stable in Cato Street. A constable was stabbed. Thistlewood escaped, but was subsequently captured and executed with four others. Five conspirators were transported.

I. General.

- (1) The Government utterly failed to recognise that, owing to lack of work for a large proportion of labourers and to the high price of bread, there was acute distress among the lowest classes. Their opposition to "revolutionary" doctrines led them to use severe measures to check disorders which were largely due to hunger.
- (2) Their fear of mob violence made the Government resist any reform, in particular the lawful attempt of the middle classees to secure parliamentary reform. They threw out in 1818 and 1819 the motions of Sir Francis Burdett and Lord John Russell for this object.

VI. Some good measures.

A. Factory Acts.

One of the worst results of the Industrial Revolution (page 626) had been the treatment of apprentices, who were badly housed, overworked, underfed.

- (1) 1802. Sir Robert Peel¹ carried the first of the Factory Acts, The Health and Morals Act, which provided that apprentices—

- a. Should work not more than twelve hours a day;
- b. Should do no night work;

¹ Father of the famous statesman.

7. Should be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic;
8. Should live under more wholesome and decent conditions.

(2) 1819. The Cotton Mills Act provided—

That no children under nine years of age should work in mills.

B. Education.

1816-18. A select committee, due to Brougham, did much good by inquiring into the conditions of education.

C. The Currency.

Cash payments in exchange for Bank of England notes had been suspended in 1797. Bank of England notes, which in 1810 were $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent below par owing to a diminution in the supply of gold, rose in value partly owing to the distrust of private notes due to many bank failures in 1814. It was decided on the recommendation of a committee, of which Peel was chairman, that from February 1, 1820, the Bank should give gold for notes, and that cash payments should be resumed on May 1, 1823. They were actually resumed on May 1, 1821.

Thus a gold standard was established, but some inconvenience was caused by the fall of prices that followed the new arrangements.

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Social England. Vol. VI, pp. 115-21. (Cassell.)
A History of England, by Spencer Walpole. Chap. v. (Longmans.)
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William Cobbett, by Smith. (Sampson Low.) Vol. II, B. Shelley's "Mask of Anarchy." [chaps. xxi.-xxiii.]
C. *The Manchester Man*, by Banks. (Heywood.)
Napoleonic Studies, by Rose. (Bell.) Chap. viii.

CASTLEREAGH

I. The Union of the English and Irish Parliaments.

- A. Castlereagh was Secretary for Ireland in the later years of William Pitt's first ministry, and arranged the bribery of the Irish borough owners, without whose support the union could not have been effected.
- B. He regarded Catholic Emancipation as necessary for the success of the Union, and steadily supported the efforts to secure it.

II. Secretary for War and the Colonies.

He held this office in Pitt's second ministry in 1805, and in Portland's ministry, 1807-9.

- A. 1807. He reorganised the army, using the old militia as the basis of his new arrangement.
- B. 1808. He secured the appointment of Wellesley as commander of the British expedition to Portugal.
- C. 1808. He failed to send adequate reinforcements to Sir John Moore owing to his overestimate of the numbers and efficiency of the Spanish troops.
- D. 1809. He was largely responsible for the Walcheren expedition, which, if successful, would have strengthened Austria by diverting Napoleon's attention.
 - (1) The choice of Antwerp as the point of attack was wise.
It was badly defended, and the capture of Antwerp would have dealt a serious blow at the naval power of Napoleon and ruined a dangerous commercial rival of London.
 - (2) The failure of the expedition was due to delay in dispatching it, and to the foolish choice of a commander. Castlereagh was largely responsible for these

III. Foreign Secretary, 1812-22.

A. 1814. He refused to consider any peace "which does not confine France within her ancient limits," and this refusal strengthened the opposition of the allies to Napoleon at a very critical time.

B. The Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815.

He was the representative of Great Britain at the Congress of Vienna until February, 1815, when Wellington succeeded him.

- (1) He wished to secure peace, to check the dangerous power of Russia, therefore—
 - (2) He joined Austria and France in their union against Russia and Prussia, and agreed to support their resistance by force if necessary.
 - a. Russia was therefore compelled to give up part of Poland.
 - β. Prussia was therefore compelled to give up part of Saxony.
 - (3) But his general policy was not "Liberal."
 - a. He did not favour the independence of Poland or Genoa.
 - β. He did not support the idea of the unity of Germany or Italy.

C. The government of Europe by Congress.

- (1) Castlereagh favoured the idea of the settlement of Europe by Congresses of the Powers (to some extent the original of the later "Concert of Europe").

1815. He definitely agreed to the frequent meetings of such congresses. Partly for this reason, partly owing to his aristocratic sympathies, he did not offer such decided opposition to the plans of the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia, as did his successor, Canning.

- (2) But he favoured the principle of non-intervention.

1815. He refused to join the Holy Alliance (page 702), which he called "a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense."

1819. He protested against the Carlsbad Decrees by which Metternich tried to promote the supremacy of Austria in Germany and to limit the independence of individual states.

1820. He strongly protested against the right of intervention by the powers in the affairs of other states, which was asserted at the Congress of Troppau. At the same time he weakened his position and incurred much unpopularity in England by expressing disapproval of the revolt of the constitutional party in Naples.

Circumstances favoured Metternich, and the revolts in Naples and Piedmont were crushed by Austrian intervention.

1821. He opposed the intervention of France in Spain.

D. Castlereagh and England.

He had little sympathy with the lowest classes, supported the policy of repression adopted by the Liverpool ministry, and shares with Sidmouth the responsibility for the Six Acts (page 723).

IV. General.

A. In spite of his incoherent and ungrammatical style of speech he gained the confidence of the House of Commons, largely owing to the great part he played in the pacification of Europe in 1815.

B. His reactionary policy at home, the incorrect suspicion that he favoured absolutism abroad, and his active opposition to the claims of Queen Caroline made him so unpopular in England at the end of his life that the London mob ~~robbed~~ ^{robbed} his funeral!

C. But although he accepted the old anti-popular Toryism, which soon gave place to the more moderate Conservatism of Peel, he supported Catholic Emancipation at home and the rights of the weaker nations of Europe abroad.

References:

A. *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, 1812-15*, Webster. (Bell.)
The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, 1815-22, esp. chap. ix.
The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, Vol. II, chap. I.

BRITISH TRADE, 1821-6

I. Huskisson's Free Trade Policy.

William Huskisson was M.P. for Liverpool, had served under Pitt, whose financial policy he followed. He became President of the Board of Trade 1823.

A. June, 1823. Reciprocity of Duties Bill.

This Bill broke down the restrictions on foreign vessels imposed by the Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660 (page 415).

- (1) Great Britain and America had agreed by the Treaty of Ghent, 1814 (page 696), to abolish restrictions on each other's trade.
- (2) Prussia, Portugal, and the Netherlands had adopted retaliatory duties, and thus injured British trade.
- (3) Huskisson's Bill put on the same terms British ships and those of foreign countries agreeing to reciprocity of trade. At the same time restrictions were kept upon the ships of countries refusing these terms.

British shipowners feared that their interests would suffer, and protested, but British shipping increased forty-five per cent within twenty-one years.

B. Decrease of duties on silk and wool.

Silk.

- (1) 1823. Failure of Huskisson's proposal to abolish the fixing of the wages of Spitalfields weavers by the magistrates, due to the protests of the journeymen, but carried in 1824.

(2) 1824. The duty on raw silk reduced from 5s. 7½d. (4s. on Indian silk) to 3d. per lb. on Indian silk, and 4d. per lb. on other silk.

1824. Foreign manufactured silk (hitherto practically excluded by heavy duties) to be admitted after July, 1826, at a duty of thirty per cent of the value.

Wool.

(1) 1823. Failure of Huskisson's proposal to lower import duty on raw foreign wool and export duties on English wool. The farmers opposed the former, the manufacturers the latter.

(2) 1824. The import duty on raw foreign wool (imposed by Vansittart in 1819) lowered from 6d. to 1d. or ½d. per lb., according to quality.

English wool to be exported at a similar rate.

These measures were followed by a great development of the silk and wool trades, owing partly to the resulting cheapness and adequate supply of raw material.

C. The remission of taxation, 1823-6.

The reduction of the National Debt enabled Robinson, the Chancellor of the Exchequer,¹ who was strongly influenced by Huskisson, to abolish the hearth and window tax, and to reduce duties on silk, wool, iron, spirits, wines, coffee, and sugar. He thus benefited the poorer classes, the manufacturers, and consumers generally.

II. The Financial Panic of 1825.

A. Wealth had grown rapidly, money was very cheap, paper money was issued in large amount, and banks readily discounted bills.

¹ After Mr. E. G. Goderic.

- B. In consequence there was a great increase in wild speculation, especially in trade with the newly enfranchised Spanish colonies in South America. Many bubble companies were formed, e.g. to export warming-pans and skates to tropical countries, to send Scotch milkmaids to milk the wild cattle of Buenos Ayres.
- C. The bubble burst, and sixty or seventy banks (Pole and Co., of London, the chief, in December, 1825) failed within seven weeks.
- D. The panic was allayed by the wise measures of the Government.
 - (1) Gold was rapidly coined, and thus the Bank of England was enabled to redeem its notes on demand.
 - (2) The issue of small notes by private banks was forbidden.
 - (3) The Bank of England was allowed to open branches in large towns.
 - (4) The restriction on the number of partners in private banks, hitherto limited to six, was removed, and this led to greater security and a considerable increase of joint-stock banks.
 - (5) The Bank of England agreed to advance £3,000,000 on the security of merchants' goods.

Reference:

- A. *History of England*, by Spencer Walpole, Vol. II, *passim*.

GEORGE CANNING, 1770-1827

I. His Life from 1770-1822.

- A. Born August 11, 1770. Warmly attached to his mother, who became an actress.
- B. 1793. Entered Parliament as a strong supporter of Pitt's war policy.

C. 1797-8. Was the real director, though not the nominal editor, of the *Anti-Jacobin*, which, though largely composed of personal attacks on Pitt's opponents, asserted the principles of the Established Church of England against the liberty and licence of the French Revolution.

D. 1803-4. A strong opponent of Addington, against whom many of his political squibs were directed. The most famous was—

“Pitt is to Addington
As London is to Paddington.”

E. 1804. Treasurer of the Navy in Pitt's second administration.

F. 1807-9. Foreign Secretary in Portland's Cabinet.
He was a strong opponent of Napoleon.

(1) September, 1807. On hearing, probably through the treachery of a Russian or French officer—not, as has been suggested, from Talleyrand—of the determination of Napoleon to secure the Danish fleet, he authorised its seizure. This seizure of a neutral fleet, although obviously contrary to the Law of Nations, probably justified by the necessity of the time (page 682).

(2) He strongly opposed Napoleon's Continental System, and was responsible for the Second Order in Council, November, 1807 (page 681), requiring all vessels trading with the Continent to touch first at a British port.

(3) He saw the need of concentrating the British forces in the Peninsula instead of wasting them in desultory attacks, and determined to help Spain. He wished to annul the Convention of Cintra on the ground that we had no right to allow the French to keep the plunder taken from our allies. He apparently over-estimated the fighting power of the Spaniards, and in

consequence probably unduly limited the forces sent to Wellesley.

September 21, 1809. The famous duel between Castlereagh, Secretary for War and the Colonies, and Canning, in which Canning was wounded in the thigh. The duel was due to—

The somewhat underhand attempt of Canning to secure the removal of Castlereagh from the ministry owing to disapproval of his policy, especially of—

His share in the disastrous Walcheren expedition.

G. 1809-16. He held no cabinet post partly owing to his quarrel with Castlereagh, partly because he was disappointed that Perceval (1809) and Liverpool (1812) secured the Premiership, which he desired, and he therefore refused a less important post. During this period—

(1) He strongly supported the cause of Roman Catholic Emancipation. ;

1812. He induced the Commons to undertake to consider the Catholic claims, but the Lords rejected a similar proposal by one vote.

(2) 1814. British ambassador to Lisbon. Absent from England seventeen months.

(3) During his absence Castlereagh greatly increased his reputation by his active resistance to Napoleon and his conduct as British plenipotentiary at Vienna.

H. 1816-21. President of the Board of Control in Liverpool's "Ministry of Mediocrities," the influence of which in the Commons was greatly strengthened by his powers of oratory and debate.

- (1) He gave Lord Hastings, the Governor-General, strong support in his campaign against the Pindaris, although not entirely approving of the extension of British authority in India.
- (2) He acquiesced in Sidmouth's repressive policy.
- (3) 1820. He protested against the introduction of a divorce clause into the Bill of Pains and Penalties against Queen Caroline and against the exclusion of her name from the Liturgy. He went abroad to avoid taking part in her trial, and resigned office (1821) as a protest against the way in which she was treated.

II. Foreign Secretary, 1822-7.

1822. Canning accepted the post of Governor-General of India in succession to Hastings, but succeeded Castlcreagh (Marquis of Londonderry 1821-2, Foreign Secretary since 1812), who committed suicide August 12, 1822. While he did not think it expedient that slavery should be abolished immediately, he carried in the Commons resolutions that the slaves should be prepared for freedom and that they should be better treated.

III. Prime Minister, April, 1827, to August, 1827.

On the disablement by illness of Liverpool Canning became Prime Minister, and the Tory party at once split up. Wellington, Peel and Eldon, who, unlike Canning, opposed Catholic Emancipation and the repeal of the Corn Laws, left the ministry. The Marquis of Lansdowne joined it, and other Whigs, such as Brougham and Burdett, supported Canning.

Canning, now in very bad health, was so violently attacked by the extreme Tories, especially by Londonderry and Newcastle and by Earl Grey, the leader of the Whigs, that his widow denounced them as his murderers.

The rejection of a Corn Bill by the Lords at the instigation of Wellington added to his difficulties.

August 8, 1827. Death of Canning.

IV. The Importance of Canning.

A. As a Foreign Minister.

- (1) He was a patriot, and his great object was to promote the interests of England and to keep peace. He wanted England to avoid Continental complications and wished "for Europe to read England." He was thus "more insular than European."
- (2) He adopted the policy of Castlereagh towards the Holy Alliance, and strongly opposed its reactionary policy. At Verona the Emperors Alexander I and Francis II and King Frederick William III—"The three gentlemen of Verona" (Brougham)—desired to re-establish absolute government and to crush constitutional development in Europe, and they proposed that the powers of Europe should combine to enforce these aims.
- (3) He did intervene in Continental politics when the interests of England required intervention, but he was not the champion of Liberalism abroad.

a. He tried to protect Spain from foreign interference, but recognised the independence of the Spanish colonies.

β. He supported the monarchy in Portugal, but promoted British trade by making a commercial treaty with Brazil, which had revolted from Portugal.

γ. He refused to place the Greeks under the protection of Britain, but intervened in their quarrel with Turkey, partly through fear that if Russia intervened alone British interests in the Near East would suffer.

B. As Prime Minister.

He was not a consistent member of either party. Like the Whigs he supported the commercial measures of Huskisson and Catholic Emancipation, but he strongly opposed the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts and parliamentary reform and supported the repressive policy of Sidmouth. He thus stood "half-way between the new and the old."

He lived at a time of transition, and some maintain that he might have formed a middle party of moderate Tories and Whigs.

- (1) His great ability as a practical statesman, his eloquence, his skill in debate, and his striking presence made him a power in the House of Commons.
- (2) But he was unduly sensitive, he lacked tact, his temper was bad, and he quarrelled with some of his chief colleagues, who showed their resentment by withholding their support when he became Prime Minister. It is therefore doubtful if he would have made a great party leader.

He was regarded by many, especially the aristocratic Whigs and the ultra-Tories, as a political adventurer of doubtful honesty.

C. Canning and the nations of Europe.

- (1) Spain.

(a) In Europe Canning sympathised with the desire of the Spaniards for constitutional government, and at the Congress of Verona, 1822, his envoy, Wellington, succeeded in preventing all plans for common intervention and in limiting to France the right of interfering on behalf of Ferdinand VII. He failed to prevent war, but owing to his efforts the war was national, between France and Spain, and not European. The French restored Ferdinand in 1823.

(b) In South America Canning opposed Spain and supported the attempts of her colonies, which he regarded as separate nations, to secure independence. His action was due partly to a desire to limit the success of France. "I determined that if France held Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies; I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old."

1824. Canning recognised the independence of Buenos Ayres, Mexico, and Colombia. In his famous speech Canning claims too much credit.

a. He had refused to allow any European power to help Spain against her colonies, but—

β. The colonies had secured their independence before he recognised it.

γ. Their independence of Spain was recognised by President Monroe, who, December 2, 1823, had proclaimed the "Monroe doctrine," forbidding interference by European states with America, and thus prevented Spain from recovering her lost possessions without fighting the United States;

δ. The recognition by Canning was really due more to commercial than political reasons.

(c) The French restored Ferdinand VII on October 1, 1823, and occupied Spain until 1828, thus ensuring his absolute power. By the Pragmatic Sanction he declared his daughter Isabella heiress to the throne. On Ferdinand's death in 1833 his younger brother, Don Carlos, unsuccessfully claimed the throne, and this claim led to the outbreak of the Carlist wars.

(2) Greece.

(a) 1821. Outbreak of a national revolt against Turkey in the Morea. The C. r wi hed to i tterver.

on behalf of the Greek Christians, hoping thereby to weaken Turkey. Canning wished to preserve the integrity of Turkey as a check on the growing power of Russia, and successfully objected to intervention by the powers.

(b) 1825. The situation was changed by the conquest of the Morea by Ibrahim Pasha (son of Mehemet Ali of Egypt), acting for the Sultan, and by the apparent determination of the new Czar, Nicholas I, to coerce Turkey.

(c) 1826. Canning, anxious to prevent Russia from intervening alone, agreed with the Czar to secure the recognition of Greece by Russia as a self-governing state under the sovereignty of Turkey. This proposal was refused by the Sultan.

(d) July 6, 1827. Therefore, by the Treaty of London, Russia, Great Britain, and France undertook to secure the independence of Greece under the suzerainty of Turkey. The allied fleets to use force if necessary to compel Turkey to grant an armistice to the Greeks. Continued opposition of the Sultan and massacre of Greeks by Ibrahim.

(e) October 20, 1827. The Turkish fleet annihilated at Navarino by the allied French, Russian, and British (under Admiral Codrington) fleets.

(3) Portugal.

(a) 1825. Canning secured the recognition of the independence of Brazil (which since 1808 had been the centre of the Portuguese power) under Dom Pedro, son of King John VI.

(b) 1826. Death of John VI. Maria de la Gloria, daughter of Dom Pedro, proclaimed queen. Owing to danger of French and Spanish intervention in

favour of her uncle, Dom Miguel, Canning sent a British force to Lisbon in December, which ensured her succession.

From 1822-7 his official position compelled him to devote most of his time to foreign politics, but he supported Huskisson's commercial policy (page 730).

References:

A. Stories of the Nations: *Modern England*, by McCarthy. Chap. vi. (Unwin.)
George Canning, by F. H. Hill.
The Foreign Policy of Canning, 1822-27, by H. V. Temperley. (Bell.)
The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, Vol. II, chap. ii.

**THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S
MINISTRY, JANUARY 1828,
TO NOVEMBER 1830**

I. Foreign Policy.

A. Wellington, whose foreign policy was reactionary and anti-Liberal,

- (1) Thought that the maintenance of the integrity of Turkey was essential for English interests, and
- (2) Declared in the King's Speech, January 29, 1828, that the battle of Navarino was "an untoward event."
- (3) Therefore did not co-operate with Russia in the coercion of Turkey. Russia, in pursuance of the Treaty of London, attacked Turkey, and by the Treaty of Adrianople, September 14, 1829, secured—

The recognition of the Danubian principalities as independent states.

Wellington now agreed to recognise the independence of Greece, but his ministry fell before it was recognised in September, 1832, when Otto of Bavaria was accepted as the first king of Greece.

B. France.

- (1) 1830. Charles X (who had succeeded his brother, Louis XVIII, September 16, 1824) had adopted the policy of the reactionary party, and had in July, 1830, sanctioned the arbitrary suspension of the liberty of the Press, the dissolution of the Chambers, and the alteration of the franchise, which the reactionary leader, the Prince de Polignac, suggested. The "July Revolution" broke out. Charles X fled to England, and was succeeded by Louis Philippe, the "Citizen King,"¹ who supported the Liberal as opposed to the reactionary cause.
- (2) Wellington was supposed to approve of the arbitrary acts of Charles X, and the success of the "July Revolution" weakened his position by strengthening the cause of parliamentary reform in England, to which he was strongly opposed.

C. Portugal.

He did not actively oppose and was supposed to be favourably inclined to Dom Miguel, who in 1828 had seized the throne with the support of the absolutist party.

D. He objected to the separation of Belgium from Holland, 1830.

II. Home Policy.

The Canningites (Huskisson, Palmerston, Dudley, Charles Grant) joined Wellington.

A. 1828. Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts.

Nonconformists had been protected by an annual Indemnity Act for breaches of the Test and Corporation Acts, and their disabilities were nominal. But the continuance of the laws was a relic of an age of persecution, and they were repealed on the motion of Lord John Russell, in spite of the opposition of Lord Eldon and the extreme Tories.

¹ The son of Philippe Egalité, formerly Duke of Orleans.

B. The resignation of the Canningites.

Huskisson and Wellington had never been on cordial terms, and when the former supported the transference of a member from the corrupt borough of East Retford to Birmingham, in opposition to Peel's official proposal, and then resigned, Wellington accepted his resignation. The rest (including Palmerston and Grant) followed, and the ministry became purely Tory and strongly anti-Catholic.

C. Catholic Emancipation.

- (1) The question had been repeatedly brought forward of recent years.

1801. Resignation of Pitt owing to George III's refusal to allow him to fulfil his undertaking to redress the religious disabilities of the Irish Catholics in return for their support of the Union.

1807. Resignation of the Grenville ministry (the "Ministry of all the Talents") on the King's demand of a promise that they would never bring up the question of Catholic Emancipation.

1812. Canning carried in the Commons his motion for considering the question of Catholic Emancipation in the following session, when (1813) Grattan's Bill was defeated by four.

1819. Grattan's motion for Emancipation, moved in his greatest speech, rejected by two in the Commons.

1821. A Roman Catholic Relief Bill passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords owing to Eldon's opposition.

Henceforth the opponents relied upon the Crown and Lords to check the movement in favour of Catholic Emancipation.

1822 and 1823. The Lords again threw out partial Relief Bills which had been passed by the Commons.

(2) The Catholic Association, 1823.

The question of Emancipation led to grave disorders in Ireland, especially between the Protestant "Orange-men" and the Catholic "White Boys." Lord Wellesley, a supporter of Emancipation, was appointed Lord Lieutenant in 1822, but his moderate policy alienated both parties and led the disappointed Catholics to form the Catholic Association, in 1823, under the leadership of O'Connell. The Association "usurped the functions of a government," and exacted a tax called the "Catholic rent." It was suppressed by order of Parliament, 1825, but had clearly shown the danger of further delay.

(3) The Relief Bill of 1825.

Sir Francis Burdett (a strong supporter of the Catholic cause) introduced a Relief Bill, and arrangements were made if this passed to introduce Bills raising the Catholic franchise from 40s. to £10 (to please the Protestants) and giving state endowment to the Catholic clergy.

Burdett's Bill passed the Commons, but was thrown out in the Lords owing to the opposition of the Duke of York (the heir to the throne), who said he would continue to oppose it "whatever might be his situation in life."

(4) The Clare Election, 1828.

The knowledge that Wellington opposed Emancipation led to a revival of agitation in Ireland on his accession to office.

1828. Daniel O'Connell elected M.P. for County Clare in opposition to Vesey Fitzgerald, a Protestant landlord who supported Emancipation.

a. The election was remarkable for the excellent order with which, owing to O'Connell's influence, it was conducted.

- 6. It shewed the importance of the 40s. freeholders in Ireland.
- 7. It was the immediate cause of Catholic Emancipation, as civil war might have followed the continued exclusion of O'Connell from Parliament after his election.

(5) The Roman Catholic Emancipation Act, April, 1829, provided—

(a) That Roman Catholics should be eligible for all public offices, except those of Regent, Lord Chancellor of England and Ireland,¹ Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and judicial appointments in ecclesiastical courts.

(b) Members of Parliament were no longer required to abjure Roman Catholic doctrines. They were to deny on oath the legality of papal jurisdiction in the British Isles, to deny that papal excommunication justified the deposition or murder of a sovereign.

(c) Jesuits and monks were not to enter the country without licence.

At the same time an Act was passed raising the qualification for the franchise in Ireland from 40s. to £10 in the hope that the dangerous power of the peasantry would be weakened.

a. O'Connell unaccountably accepted this Act, although "the forties" had ensured his return for Clare.

6. This extensive disfranchisement affords a striking contrast to the extension of the franchise in England during the century.

(6) The position of Wellington and Peel.

(a) They had to contend with the opposition of—

a. The King, who professed "conscientious" objections to the measure and who was induced to give his assent to the Act only by Wellington's threat of resignation;

¹ The Lord Chancellorship of Ireland is now open to Roman Catholics. *

β. The Established Church of England;

γ. The extreme Tories, especially Eldon, who declared that the Government had "run away [from its principles] like a pack of cowards."

The Bill was carried owing to the combined support of the Whigs, Canningites, and moderate Tories.

(b) Both had previously vigorously opposed Catholic Emancipation, and Peel owed his election for Oxford University largely to his strong "Protestantism." Both now supported the measure, in Wellington's case mainly through fear of civil war, in Peel's case largely through fear that the Union would be endangered if relief were denied any longer.

(c) Both incurred great unpopularity by their change of policy.

a. Peel honourably resigned his seat at Oxford to test the feeling of his constituents, and was defeated at the subsequent election.

β. Wellington fought a duel with Lord Winchilsea, who asserted that the Duke's action in supporting the foundation of King's College, London, an Anglican establishment, while he was contemplating the relief of Catholic disabilities was a "blind to the protestant and high church party."

(7) The results of the Act.

(a) The Act did not, as was hoped, give final peace to Ireland owing to—

a. The failure to provide an endowment for the Roman Catholic clergy and to ensure for the Crown a veto on the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops;

β. The subsequent policy of O'Connell, who now began his violent campaign for the repeal of the Union;

y. It was seen that the Act was partly due to the danger of civil war, and the possibility of a recourse to force has since been an important element in Irish politics.

(b) The action of Wellington and Peel split up the old Tory party and opened the way for the formation of the new "Conservative" party (page 757).

D. 1829. The establishment of the London Police Force by Peel.

III. Fall of Wellington.

November 2, 1830. A most unfortunate King's Speech supporting Miguel's usurpation, condemning civil war in Belgium, asserting a determination to repress by force all disturbance in England without any sympathy for the real distress to which disturbance was largely due.

The King's Speech was followed by a declaration by Wellington of resistance to reform, and the ministry resigned, nominally owing to a defeat on the reform of the Civil List, really owing to the indignation caused by Wellington's reactionary policy.

IV. Wellington as Prime Minister.

As a party leader he was a complete failure.

(1) He did not understand what party government meant, and failed to realise that popular support is the foundation of constitutional government. He treated politics like warfare in which the general must never lay down his command and must make up for defeat by timely but inglorious retreat. Instead of resigning and appealing to the constituencies when unable to carry out his own policy, he supported measures to the principles of which he was strongly opposed.

(2) He lacked the art of managing his party.

a. A little tact would have secured the retention of the *Cannibals* in 1828.

β. He alienated the extreme Tories by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts 1828, and by the Catholic Emancipation Act, 1829.

γ. Although the Whigs supported him in 1829, his persistent opposition to parliamentary reform failed to secure their permanent support.

Thus in 1830 he stood alone and kept his position mainly because he was the only man who could manage George IV.

(3) He was the last of the old Tories, averse from change at home, favourable to absolute government abroad, and lost much of his popularity for a time for both these reasons.

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THE REFORM BILL OF 1832

I. Defects of the Old System of Parliamentary Representation.

A. Seats were not distributed according to population.

(1) Boroughs which had decayed in importance continued to send members to Parliament.

Old Sarum, consisting, as Lord John Russell said, of "a green mound and a wall with two niches in it," sent two, and thirty-five constituencies with hardly any voters returned seventy members.

(2) Towns which had greatly increased owing to the industrial revolution and the growth of trade were inadequately represented.

The county of Middlesex, including London, sent only eight members; Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham sent none.

B. The House of Commons was largely composed of delegates of the great landowners who controlled the "pocket" or "rotten" boroughs, which they regarded as their personal property.

The Duke of Norfolk in 1793 returned eleven members, and it was stated that "one hundred and fifty-four patrons returned three hundred and seven."

Thus "seats were held in both Houses by hereditary right."

C. The franchise was limited and based on no uniform system.

(1) The county franchise was limited to 40s. freeholders.

The roll of county electors in Scotland in October, 1811, shows that eight counties had each less than thirty electors, with an aggregate of 159, while only nine had over 100.

(2) The borough franchise was restricted, e.g. in various constituencies to—

- a. The holders of certain houses, e.g. at Richmond.
- β. Payers of scot and lot.¹
- γ. Freemen.
- δ. Holders of corporate office, especially in Scotland.
- ε. At Taunton the franchise was restricted to "Potwallers," i.e. all resident male inhabitants who had obtained a parochial settlement, whether occupiers of a house or lodgers.

D. Bribery and corruption.

(1) In the constituencies most boroughs were sold by their "patrons" or by their electors (the limitation of whose numbers made the right of voting a valuable privilege) or by both, and prices were put up owing to the competition of East Indian "Nabobs," who desired to improve their social position by securing a seat in Parliament. The poll was kept open for forty days, reduced to fifteen in 1785, and the expense was enormous.

¹ i.e. Imperial and national taxes.

- a. One election at Northampton cost each of the three candidates £30,000.
- b. 1807. The election for the county of York cost £200,000. The most expensive election on record.

(2) In Parliament.

Members who had paid heavily for their seats recouped themselves by selling their votes, and it was therefore easy for George III, who controlled the Crown patronage, to form a party of "King's Friends" (page 596)

E. There was ample justification for William Pitt's famous declaration: "This House [the Commons] is not representative of the people of England."

II. Attempts at Reform.

A. Before 1792.

1766. Chatham proposed to weaken the influence of owners of "rotten" boroughs by increasing the number of county members.
1785. Pitt proposed to disfranchise corrupt boroughs and to increase the number of members for London and the counties.

B. The reform movement checked 1800-20.

The strong reaction against the principles of the French Revolution, the concentration of national attention on the Napoleonic wars, the violence of extreme reformers, and the Cato Street Conspiracy seriously weakened the movement for reform.

C. The revival of reform, 1820-30.

(1) Due to the moderate reformers led by Burdett, supported by the Whigs, especially Lord John Russell, and relying upon the growing determination of the middle

- (2) Formation of Reform Associations, especially the Union of Birmingham.
- (3) 1821. Grampound, a notorious "rotten" borough in Cornwall, was disfranchised and its two members given to Yorkshire.
- (4) 1828. Failure of proposal to transfer the representation of Penry to Manchester.
- (5) 1830. The "July Revolution" in Paris, a triumph of constitutional government, and the accession of the "Citizen King," Louis Philippe, greatly strengthened the reform movement in England.
- 6. June, 1830. Accession of William IV, personally popular and known to favour reform, but in 1830 Wellington denied the need of change and asserted his determination to resist all measures of reform.
- 7. November, 1830. Resignation of Wellington. Lord Grey, Prime Minister; Lord Althorp, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the Commons. Union of the Canningites [Palmerston, Grant, Goderich (Prosperity Robinson)] with the Whigs, Lord John Russell, Edward Stanley, Sir James Graham.

III. The Passage of the Bill.

A. The Bill passed by the Commons.

- (1) March 1, 1831. The first Reform Bill introduced into the Commons by Lord John Russell, passed the second reading by a majority of one in the largest House on record up to date, thrown out in Committee. Dissolution of Parliament by William IV in person.
- (2) Growing feeling in the country. The election cry, "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." A majority favourable to reform returned to Parliament.
- (3) June 24, 1831. The second Reform Bill introduced by Lord John Russell. The third reading carried by 109 on September 21.

B. The Bill passed by the Lords.

(1) October 8, 1831. The second Reform Bill rejected by the Lords. The ministry refused to resign. Reform riots. Nottingham Castle burned.

October 29, 1831. Serious riots in Bristol on the entry of the Recorder, Sir Charles Wetherell, a strong anti-reformer.

(2) December 12, 1831. Introduction of the third Reform Bill by Lord John Russell.

March 23, 1832. The third reading passed by the Commons.

May 7, 1832. A hostile amendment to the third Reform Bill carried in Committee of the Lords. Resignation of Earl Grey on the King's refusal to create a majority of Whig peers.

May 18, 1832. After Wellington had failed to form a ministry Grey returned to office. The King promised to create enough Whig peers to pass the Bill if necessary.

(3) June 4, 1832. The King requested Wellington to withdraw his opposition. Wellington and a hundred supporters retired from the House and the remaining peers passed the Bill.

IV. The Bill.**A. Redistribution of seats.**

(1) The abolition of "rotten" boroughs.

Fifty-six "rotten" boroughs having less than 2000 inhabitants and returning 111 members were abolished.

Thirty boroughs having less than 4000 inhabitants each lost one member.

Weymouth and Melcombe Regis lost two members.

By these changes 143 seats were made available for distribution.

(2) These seats were distributed as follows:—

Sixty-five were given to the counties.

This arrangement due to the influence of the great landowners.

Forty-four were given to large towns (including Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and Sheffield), each receiving two.

Twenty-one were given to smaller towns, each receiving one.

Eight were given to Scotland and five to Ireland.

B. The extension of the franchise.

(1) In the boroughs householders paying an annual rent of £10 received the franchise. Thus the old variety of qualification was replaced by a uniform qualification.

(2) In the counties the 40s. freeholders retained the franchise, which was also given to copyholders¹ paying £10 a year in rent, to leaseholders for twenty years paying £50 rent, and to tenants at will paying £50 rent.

The tenants at will provision, "The Chandos Clause," was carried by the Marquis of Chandos against the Government, and is a further proof of the influence of the great landowners.

C. General.

(1) The Reform Bill increased the political power of the middle class, and the period from 1832–68 was the period of "the rule of the middle class." It was carried owing to the alliance of the aristocratic Whigs with the moderate Liberals, and it continued the work of the Great Revolution by giving the chief power in the Commons to the middle class. It indirectly reduced the power of the crown and the peerage.

¹ Copyholders based their right to the land they held on copies of the rolls of a manor made by a steward of the lord's court.

- (2) Many of the Whigs supported the Reform Bill in the hope that it would check the growth of democratic sentiment, and they would have strongly resisted the extension of the franchise to artisans. Charles Wood [later Viscount Halifax] described the Bill as an efficient, substantial, antidemocratic, pro-property measure. Lord John Russell was nicknamed "Finality Jack" for declaring, in 1837, that the Bill was a final settlement.
- (3) The Bill gave greater political importance to the great industrial centres of the north and middle of England.
- (4) In spite of the broadening of the franchise the landed gentry continued to exercise considerable influence, and wealthy men formed the great majority in the Parliaments which followed the Reform Bill.
- (5) But the Bill was not a final settlement. The Radicals had tried to secure a broader franchise, but failed, partly because their influence was weakened owing to their alliance with O'Connell and the Irish. The exclusion of artisans from the franchise led subsequently to the development of Chartism, and the Reform Bills of 1867 and 1884 made "the man in the street" and not "the man on the omnibus" the ultimate factor in politics.

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DOMESTIC HISTORY, 1831-41

I. Earl Grey, Prime Minister November, 1830, to July, 1834.

A. The Reform Bill.

Parliament was dissolved December, 1832. The new Parliament was anxious to reform abuses.

B. The abolition of slavery due to Clarkson, Wilberforce, Buxton, and Zachary Macaulay.

(1) The abolition of the slave trade.

1788. A Parliamentary Committee revealed the appalling conditions under which the trade was carried on.

1792. A gradual Abolition Bill carried in the Commons owing to the efforts of Wilberforce, supported by Pitt and Fox, but postponed by the Lords.

1807. The Abolition Bill passed by the "Ministry of all the Talents" largely owing to Fox, who died before it was carried.

The slave trade prohibited after January 1, 1808.

(2) 1823. Success of Canning's attempt to improve the conditions of slaves.

(3) August, 1833. The abolition of slavery.

1. Slave children of six years old and under declared free.

2. Others to serve their masters as apprentices for a time, and then to receive freedom.

This plan was abandoned in 1838 (page 998).

3. £20,000,000 given as compensation.

a. Some said the gift was inadequate.

β. Others that it was too generous, as slavery was wrong.

γ. Wilberforce, who died August 27, 1833, said: "Thank God, I have lived to witness the day in which England is willing to give £20,000,000 for the abolition of slavery."

C. Ashley's Factory Act, 1833—

(1) Prohibited the employment in factories of children under nine;

- (2) Restricted the time of labour to ten hours a day in the case of women and "young persons" under eighteen;
- (3) Ordered that children under thirteen should spend two hours a day in school and should not labour more than eight hours a day. Although this Act raised the cost of production owing to the general substitution of adult for child labour it ultimately proved advantageous for the employers owing to the better quality of the work.

D. Legal reforms.

1833. Brougham carried a Bill for the appointment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

E. Finance.

1833. Lord Althorp aroused considerable opposition by refusing to withdraw the malt tax and the house and window tax.

F. Education.

1833. First Government grant (£20,000) to British and National Schools.

G. The Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834.

The new Poor Law, brought in during Grey's ministry and carried during Melbourne's, owed much to the support of Brougham.

- (1) The old system by which outdoor relief was given in aid of wages and according to the number of children, legitimate or illegitimate, had led to the degradation of labourers and the ruin of many farmers, whose rates in some places were heavier than their rent.
- (2) The new Poor Law recognised the distinction between poverty and pauperism, and provided—
 - (a) That no outdoor relief, except medical attendance, should be given to the able-bodied; the pauper would in future be worse off than the agricultural labourer.

(b) That a workhouse test should be enforced in the case of the able-bodied seeking indoor relief;

(c) That the Law of Settlement, which hindered the movement of labourers from place to place, should be modified.

(d) That parishes should be grouped into unions and that a Central Poor Law Board should be established to supervise the working of the Act.

(3) Effects.

(a) A marked improvement in the character of the labourers.

(b) A great reduction in the rates which within five years were reduced by £3,000,000 per annum.

a. This relieved the farmers,

b. and was partly due to the unions, which proved more efficient and less expensive than the old arrangement.

(c) Considerable hardship was caused by the sudden abolition of the old system of grants and by the harsh application of the workhouse test. The consequent discontent contributed to the growth of Chartism.

(d) The new Poor Law made the repeal of the Corn Laws inevitable.

II. Lord Melbourne's First Ministry, July to November, 1834.

A. August, 1834. The Poor Law Amendment Act passed.

B. Melbourne's ministry dismissed November, 1834.

(1) Melbourne depended largely upon the support, in the House of Commons, of "Honest Jack Althorp," who, although a poor Chancellor of the Exchequer and an ineffective speaker, secured the confidence of his party by his sterling character. He became Earl Spencer on his father's death, and William IV dismissed him

ministers because he thought them too weak to govern without the support of Althorp in the Commons.

- (2) The King's action was due to—
 - a. His devotion to Church principles and discontent with Russell's support of the Appropriation Clause (page 792);
 - β. His anger at Brougham's familiar references to himself;
 - γ. A belief that the new Conservative party was stronger than the Whigs.
- (3) Melbourne left the decision in the King's hands, although he was supported by a majority in the Commons, and therefore might have continued in office. Some critics maintain that under the circumstances he ought to have continued in office, but the prestige of the ministry had been weakened by the resignation of some of the most distinguished members of the Grey Cabinet, and Melbourne realised the importance of the loss of Althorp's influence in the Commons.
- (4) The failure of the King's action greatly strengthened the Whigs, whom it "threw into the arms of O'Connell and the Radicals."

October 16th, 1834. Burning of the Houses of Parliament caused by the destruction of the old wooden account tallies in the stoves of the House of Lords without proper precautions.

III. Peel's First Ministry, December, 1834, to April, 1835.

This ministry is important owing to the definite assertion of Conservative principles by Peel.

- A. The Tamworth Manifesto. The Charter of the Conservative Party. Peel's address to his constituents at Tamworth.
 - (1) He said he was neither "a defender of abuses" nor "an enemy of judicious reforms."

- (2) He asserted that the Reform Bill "constitutes a new era," and "is the final and irrevocable settlement of a great constitutional question."
- (3) He advocated "a careful review of institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, undertaken in a friendly temper," to secure "the firm maintenance of established rights, the correction of proved abuses, and the redress of real grievances."

B. The King's Speech, February, 1835.

- (1) Peel made a general promise "to advance soberly and cautiously in the path of progressive improvement"
- (2) He made promises of certain definite reforms.
 "I offer you reduced estimates, improvements in civil jurisprudence, reform of ecclesiastical law, the settlement of the tithe question in Ireland, the commutation of tithe in England, the removal of any real abuse in the Church, the redress of those grievances of which the Dissenters have any just ground to complain."

C. Conservative reform.

Peel at once showed his desire to keep his promises.

- (1) 1834. The Dissenters' Marriage Bill (was not passed)—
 - a. Authorised civil marriages before a registrar;
 - b. Allowed religious bodies to arrange the marriage service as they pleased.
- (2) His inquiry into ecclesiastical abuses paved the way for the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836.

D. The fall of Peel's ministry, April 8th, 1835.

By the "Lichfield House Compact" O'Connell and the Whigs had made an alliance, and their combined forces enabled Lord John Russell to carry against the Government a motion for the appropriation of the surplus ecclesiastical revenues in Ireland to the "education of all classes of Christians." Resignation of Peel.

IV. Lord Melville's Second Ministry, April, 1835, to August, 1841.**A. September, 1835. The Municipal Reform Act.****(1) Abuses of the old system.**

(a) Hitherto municipal councils had been limited corporations, not popularly elected, deliberating in secret, publishing no account of their expenditure of public money, and, in many cases, hopelessly corrupt.

(b) The rights of citizenship were confined to the freemen, a small proportion of the ratepayers. At Cambridge there were 118 freemen out of 20,000 inhabitants.

(2) The Bill, due largely to Lord Brougham, provided—

a. That all towns should have a uniform system of government, consisting of a town council, elected by the ratepayers in each ward, and including a mayor, aldermen, and councillors;

β . That the town council should administer accounts, which were to be duly audited and published;

γ . That all old trading privileges should be abolished.

(3) This most important Act did for the government of towns what the Reform Bill had done for the government of the country. It greatly diminished jobbery in municipal affairs, abolished privilege, taught people to govern themselves through the representatives they had chosen, and thus prepared the way for the County and Parish Councils Acts of 1888 and 1894.

B. 1836. The Registration Act—

Appointed registrars for each union who should report to the registrar-general all births, deaths and marriages in their union.

C. 1836. The Marriage Act.

Allowed persons who objected to the publication of banns, after twenty-one days' notice, to be married in church or chapel or before a registrar.

This Act removed a serious grievance of Nonconformists.

D. 1836. The Tithe Commutation Act.

Commissioners appointed to assess an annual rent charge imposed in place of the old tithes and dependent in amount on the average price of corn during the preceding seven years.

E. 1836. The Stamp Duty on newspapers lowered from four-pence to one penny per issue.**F. Queen Victoria and Lord Melbourne.**

William IV died June 20th, 1837, and was succeeded by his niece, Queen Victoria, daughter of the Duke of Kent, who was only eighteen. Lord Melbourne, who "saw her every day for four years," became her confidential adviser, and rendered great service to the nation by the wisdom, tact, and consideration he displayed in his relations with the Queen.

G. The Bedchamber Question.

May, 1839. Melbourne resigned because the Jamaica Bill (page 999) was carried by only five in the Commons, but Peel, who was invited to form a ministry, refused to take office unless the Whig ladies of the royal household in attendance on the Queen (especially Lady Normanby, wife of the Colonial Secretary, who had previously been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) resigned their posts.

a. The Queen, supported by Melbourne, refused to adopt a course which she described as "contrary to usage and repugnant to her feelings."

β. Peel was right, because the Prime Minister can make his own terms on taking office, and it was unreasonable that the young Queen should remain under the influence of the relatives of his political opponents and (as in the case of Lord Normanby) personal enemies.

γ. But the affair was much exaggerated, and subsequent history has shown that the ladies of the household exert little political influence.

H. 1839. Formation of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education.

The proposal to increase the grant made in 1833 to elementary education (page 755) led to protests from many Anglicans against the use of public money to further education not in accordance with the principles of the Church of England. The beginning of the "religious question" in elementary education.

I. The marriage of the Queen.

February 10, 1840. The Queen married her first cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg Gotha.

1840. The Penny Post established (page 1043).

J. Canada (page 982).

1839. The Durham Report.

1840. The Canada Bill.

K. Growing discontent.

The condition of the lowest classes was miserable. The immediate effect of the introduction of new machinery was a diminution in the demand for manual labour in the towns; the migration from country districts to towns increased the competition among workmen and diminished wages; the followers of Jeremy Bentham deprecated interference with free competition, and the Corn Laws kept up the price of bread. The expectation that the Reform Bill would put an end to all the evils of the time was naturally disappointed, and the new Poor Law,

though ultimately beneficial, caused much hardship. These evils led to two important movements.

(1) **Chartism.**

Chartism was an attempt to remedy social and economic evils by changing the character of Parliament and by giving to the working classes the privileges that the Reform Bill had given to the middle classes.

1838. Issue of "The People's Charter" demanding "six points":—

(i) Universal Suffrage; (ii) Vote by Ballot; (iii) Annual Parliaments; (iv) The Abolition of Property Qualifications for Members of Parliament; (v) Payment of Members; (vi) Equal Electoral Districts.

Of these (ii) and (iv) have been granted; "Labour members" have been paid by their societies, and the principle of the payment of members has been accepted by the Commons; the extension of the franchise in 1867 and 1884 has promoted the idea of universal suffrage for men, and the justice and expediency of "votes for women" have been forcefully asserted by "suffragettes" from 1908.

1839. Rejection by Parliament of a Chartist petition signed by over a million supporters. Serious riots by the extreme "physical force" Chartists, especially in Birmingham and (November) Newport, Mon., which the military defended against the rioters, who were led by a local magistrate named Frost, and of whom several were killed. Chartist, temporarily checked by repressive measures, revived 1848 (page 836).

(2) **The Anti-Corn Law movement.**

This attempt to redress the evils of the time differed from Chartistism.

a. It worked by alteration of economic rather than political conditions.

β. It was mainly a middle-class and not a working-class movement.

γ. It relied upon argument rather than force.

1838. Formation of the Anti-Corn Law League by Cobden and Bright, in Manchester.

1841. Lord John Russell's proposal to repeal the Corn Laws, to impose a tax of eight shillings a quarter instead of the sliding scale, and to reduce the sugar duty. Defeat of the Government on the reduction of the sugar duty, May 7, and on a motion of no confidence by one vote, May 27, 1841.

1841. August 30. Melbourne resigned, owing to a vote of no confidence carried by the Conservative majority in the new Parliament.

End of the Whig Rule.

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FOREIGN POLITICS, 1830-41

I England and France.

A. Louis Philippe.

(1) The power of Louis Philippe rested upon popular support, and popular opinion, especially in Paris, favoured an active foreign policy which would restore the glory of France.

- (2) Russia, Prussia, and Austria at first refused to recognise the "July Monarchy," through fear of further French aggression.
- (3) Wellington recognised the new Government, and his example was soon followed by the other powers.
- (4) Owing to Wellington's action and to the feeling that the constitutional governments of France and England had common interests against the Eastern powers, friendly relations were established between the two countries, which were strengthened when, in 1831, the Casimir Périer ministry adopted an anti-revolutionary policy.

B. These relations resulted in united action in the cases of Holland and Belgium, Spain and Portugal, but were broken off owing to difference of policy in regard to Mehemet Ali.

II. Holland and Belgium.

- A. The union of Holland and Belgium, effected by the Congress of Vienna (page 701), had been weakened by the religious hostility between Catholic Belgium and Protestant Holland, by the favour shown to Dutch merchants in commercial legislation, by the compulsory use of Dutch as the official language in Belgium, and by the foolish action of King William in attempting to limit constitutional liberty and to weaken the Catholic religion in Belgium.
- B. August, 1830. Revolution in Brussels, supported by the whole of Belgium.
- C. Great Britain and France supported the Belgians, and a rising in Poland (November, 1830) prevented Russia and Prussia from interfering.
- D. Conferences in London arranged—
 - a. That Holland and Belgium should be separated. Holland to consist of the old United Provinces.

- β. That Luxemburg should be given to the King of Holland.
- γ. That Belgium should take responsibility for half the National Debt.

E. The recognition of Belgium.

- (1) It seemed doubtful if these arrangements would be carried out.
 - α. The Belgians refused to give up Luxemburg.
 - β. The Dutch invaded Belgium and defeated the Belgians.
 - γ. The French wished to recover some territory ceded to Holland and Belgium in 1815.
 - δ. The French invaded Belgium, defeated the Dutch and saved Belgium.
- (2) The French had previously undertaken to seek no additions of territory and to intervene in Belgium only in conjunction with England. Palmerston insisted—
 - α. That the French should receive no territory;
 - β. That the French army should at once withdraw from Belgium. "The French must go out of Belgium or we have a general war."
- (3) Final arrangements.
 - (a) Leopold of Saxe-Coburg (widower of Princess Charlotte (page 715), uncle of Princess Victoria, and therefore acceptable to England, who now married Louis Philippe's daughter, Princess Louise of Orleans, and thus conciliated the French) proclaimed King of the Belgians.
 - (b) Part of Luxemburg restored to the King of Holland.
 - (c) Belgium to pay a fairer share of the National Debt of both countries.

These arrangements confirmed by the powers May 4, 1839

F. United intervention of France and Great Britain. King William refused to accept these conditions and to give up Antwerp. The French captured Antwerp, the English blockaded the Scheldt, and thus the Dutch were compelled to evacuate Belgium.

1839. Final agreement between Holland and Belgium

III. Poland.

November, 1830. Outbreak of a rebellion in Warsaw, due to the example of the July Revolution in Paris and to the interference of the Czar, Nicholas I, with the Polish constitution. The movement, which ended in the incorporation of Poland in the Russian Empire with a separate administration, was not national or popular, but aristocratic. Palmerston protested against the interference with the constitution guaranteed by the Treaty of Vieuna, but refused to interfere, as Warsaw had been ceded to Russia by that treaty. His action—

- a. Was consistent with his determination to stand on the treaties;
- β. Embittered Russian feeling against England.

IV. Spain and Portugal.

A. Portugal.

- (1) Dom Miguel, brother of Dom Pedro, Emperor of Brazil, usurped the throne of Portugal left by Pedro to his daughter, Donna Maria de la Gloria, 1828.
- (2) Pedro therefore abdicated the throne of Brazil (1831) to secure the throne for Donna Maria, and seized Lisbon, 1833.
- (3) Palmerston allowed Pedro to enlist troops in England, and a British fleet under Captain Napier defeated Miguel.

B. Spain.

- (1) Ferdinand VII of Spain, influenced by Queen Christina, revoked the Salic Law and left his throne to his daughter Isabella, thus excluding his brother, Don Carlos, the next male heir.

(2) Death of Ferdinand September, 1833. Queen Christina, to strengthen her daughter's position, adopted the Liberal cause.

C. The Quadruple Alliance, 1834.

(1) Donna Maria and Queen Christina made an alliance against the Pretenders, Dom Miguel and Don Carlos, who were supported by the legitimist and clerical (i.e. the reactionary) parties in Portugal and Spain.

(2) April 22, 1834. Quadruple Alliance between Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal to expel the Pretenders.

(3) The relations between France and Great Britain were embittered by—

- a. The unwillingness of Palmerston to admit France to the Alliance: he had previously formed a Triple Alliance between Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal, and extended this into the Quadruple with great reluctance;
- β. The refusal of Thiers to countenance an English expedition, and of Palmerston to countenance French intervention, and the failure to arrange a joint expedition.

(4) Thus Great Britain practically lost the friendship of France, and was isolated in Europe.

V. Russia and Turkey.

A. Mehemet Ali, 1832-3.

(1) The battle of Navarino, October 20th, 1827, prevented Mehemet Ali from conquering the Morea; he conquered Syria, overran Asia Minor and marched on Constantinople.

(2) Great Britain and France were most anxious to maintain the integrity of Turkey as a barrier against the extension of Russia to the south-west, but they were unable to help the Sultan because both were engaged in the joint expedition against Holland (page 766),

the reform agitation was at its height in Great Britain, and the death of Casimir Périer had weakened France.

- (3) Russia was anxious to maintain the Turkish Empire provided it was too weak to be dangerous, and, as the rebellion in Poland had been suppressed, was free to act. The Sultan accepted the Czar's offer of help, and Russian forces entered the Turkish dominions.
- (4) Great Britain and France, fearing that Russia would use her position to strengthen her power, compelled the Sultan to give Syria to Mehemet Ali, thus making Russian help unnecessary. Russia was checked, but July 8, 1833, by the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi made an offensive and defensive alliance with the Sultan.
 - a. This treaty was regarded in England as the assertion of a Russian protectorate over Turkey.
 - b. The refusal of Russia to give up the Danubian Principalities it had occupied pending payment of an indemnity due from Turkey added to the anxiety felt in England.

B. The revival of the Holy Alliance, October 15, 1833.

Austria, Russia, Prussia, owing to the sympathy shown by France and Great Britain to the revolutionary party in Belgium and the Liberals in Spain and Portugal, renewed the Holy Alliance by the Treaty of Berlin, October 15, 1833, by which they reasserted the right of the powers to intervene in any state to help the lawful sovereign.

C. Mehemet Ali, 1839-40.

- ' (1) Another war broke out between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali, whose son Ibrahim routed the Turks at Nessib June 24, 1839, and overran Asia Minor

(2) Great Britain determined to intervene.

- a. Mehemet's empire included the Euphrates Valley and the Isthmus of Suez—two of the routes to India.
- β. Palmerston feared that Russia would intervene in accordance with the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi.

(3) Fear of Russia led the other powers to promise to protect the Sultan, if necessary, against Mehemet.

(4) But France, anxious to weaken the British influence in the Mediterranean, was willing for Mehemet to keep Egypt and Syria.

(5) Palmerston therefore came to an understanding with Russia.

- a. Russia had evacuated the Principalities in 1838, and was sincerely anxious to maintain the integrity of Turkey.
- β. The visit of the Czarevitch to England, 1838, had led to a better feeling between the two countries.
- γ. Nicholas agreed to abstain from isolated intervention in Turkey, to give up the advantages of the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, and to coerce Mehemet if necessary.

(6) July 3, 1840. By the Convention of London, Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain agreed, without the knowledge of France, to protect the Sultan against Mehemet.

- a. Great indignation in France. Apparent danger of war between France and Great Britain.
- β. Resistance of Mehemet, hoping for French aid. Conquest of Syria by combined Austrian, Turkish, and British fleets. Submission of Mehemet, who was confirmed in the Pashalik of Egypt, November 25.

VI. The First War with China. The "Opium War," 1839-42.

A. 1833. Abolition of the monopoly of the China trade hitherto held by the East India Company. Growth of trade, especially of the contraband trade, at the open ports of Canton and Macao in opium in spite of the attempts of the Chinese Government to prohibit it owing to the debasing effect of the drug. The British Government ought to have forbidden the trade, but this would have meant a loss of £1,000,000 per annum duty paid to the Indian Government, and the smugglers, relying upon the connivance of the authorities, made large profits.

B. On the failure of the British residents to stop the trade, the Chinese seized opium to the value of 1½ millions and treated the merchants with great severity.

C. War.

Sir Hugh Gough captured Chusan, Ningpo, and Amoy, and threatened Nanking.

D. 1842. The Treaty of Nanking ended the war.

- a. China ceded Hongkong to Great Britain.
- β. Canton, Amoy, Foo Choo, Ningpo, Shanghai made treaty ports. English consuls appointed and traders admitted.
- γ. China paid an indemnity of 4½ millions in addition to compensation for opium seized.

E. The British Government was wrong in not stopping the trade, but was obliged to go to war to protect British subjects from ill-treatment. The Treaty of Nanking was an important step in the opening of China to Europeans.

VII. Lord Palmerston as Foreign Minister, 1830-41.

A. His efforts were successful, and he strengthened greatly the influence of Great Britain. "He created Belgium,

saved Portugal and Spain from absolutism, rescued Turkey from Russia, and the highway to India from France," and kept peace for eleven years.

- B. But his peremptory methods of "getting the affairs of Europe into trim" aroused much ill-feeling, especially in France.
- C. He already showed a disposition to act on his own initiative without consulting his colleagues (page 867). The Quadruple Alliance, 1834, "a capital hit and all my own doing."

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THE WHIG RULE,
NOVEMBER 1830, TO AUGUST 1841

I. Some leading Men.

A. Earl Grey.

- (1) A consistent Whig. Had brought forward motions for Parliamentary reform, 1793 and 1797. Held office in the Ministry of all the Talents and supported the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1807. Condemned the Peninsular War, opposed all measures restricting personal liberty passed by Liverpool's ministry. Advocated Catholic Emancipation. Carried the Reform Bill, 1832.

- (2) But he was a Whig of the old aristocratic type.

1827. a. His violent personal attack on Canning was probably due to contempt for one whom he regarded as a plebeian adventurer.

β. He sympathised with Stanley's attitude towards the Irish Church, and objected to the interference with the rights of property which he thought the Appropriation Clause (page 792) involved.

γ. He had no sympathy with the Radicals, of whom his son-in-law, Lord Durham, "Radical Jack," was a leader. He strongly objected to the "constant and active pressure from without" to which his ministry was subjected. He thought the Reform Bill valuable because it was "conservative of the constitution" and seemed likely to check the further growth of democracy.

B. Lord Brougham.

Educated at Edinburgh University. One of the leading contributors to the *Edinburgh Review* and soon became "the greatest intellectual power on the Whig side."

(1) An ardent supporter of progressive measures. Opposed slavery, advocated the extension of popular education, rendered most valuable help during the passage of the Reform Bill, 1832, and of the New Poor Law, 1834.

(2) A great reformer of legal machinery. Lord Chancellor 1830-4.

The establishment of the Central Criminal Court and of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, 1833, was due to him, and he foreshadowed the establishment of County Courts in a Bill which the Lords rejected.

(3) A brilliant orator and debater. His sarcasm and invective made him a great power in the Commons and on political platforms.

(4) His career was ruined by inordinate vanity and indiscretion, especially by his unwise remarks about the King and his patronising references to his colleagues during his Scotch tour in 1834. Melbourne found that "it was impossible to act with him," and he was not reappointed Lord Chancellor in Melbourne's second ministry, 1835.

C. William Lamb, Viscount Melbourne.

- (1) A moderate Whig holding an intermediate position between extreme Tories and extreme Whigs. Supported the Six Acts and also Catholic Emancipation. Chief Secretary for Ireland under Canning, 1827. Home Secretary in Grey's ministry. Prime Minister, 1834 and 1835-41.
- (2) Melbourne was not a statesman. He was somewhat indolent, and his famous formula "Why can't you let it alone?" showed that his attitude towards reform was passive.
- (3) Although his life was clouded by the infidelity of his wife and the mental failure and the early death of his only son, he did not lose the shrewdness, geniality, and kindness which kept his ministry together in spite of its great weakness and conciliated his opponents.
- (4) He rendered great service to the nation by the sympathy, wisdom, and tact he displayed as adviser of the young Queen from 1837-41. "For four years he saw her every day." He taught her the "doctrines of parliamentary sovereignty, ministerial responsibility, and limited monarchy which belong to the Whig tradition," but never made a wrong use of his position for personal or party ends.

II. The Weakness of the Whigs, 1830-41.

Although they had a majority in the Commons and carried through most important laws, the Whigs were not a united party

A. The Whigs had been in opposition for nearly fifty years. They had thus lost the power of administration, party discipline had been relaxed, Melbourne was not strong enough to enforce it, and he failed to give his party a strong lead.

B. The party was weakened—

- (1) By serious differences of opinion.
 - a. Earl Grey had little sympathy with the Radicals.
 - b. Stanley and Lord John Russell differed entirely as to the appropriation of Irish ecclesiastical revenues.
 - c. Brougham quarrelled with his colleagues, especially Durham, and after losing the Chancellorship proved a most dangerous critic.
 - d. The union with O'Connell alienated many of the Protestant middle class.
- (2) By the consolidation of the Conservative party by Peel and the permanent Conservative majority in the House of Lords, who often rejected or modified the Bills the ministry supported. “The Lords have been bowling down Bills like ninepins” (Greville).
- (3) The hostility of William IV.

C. The party grew steadily weaker, and at the end of its time depended upon Melbourne's exceptional position as adviser to the Queen for existence and, in some cases, upon Peel's support to carry its Bills.

III. The Whigs did great things for England.

They reformed Parliament, 1832; passed the Factory Act, 1833; amended the Poor Law, 1834; passed the Municipal Corporations Act, 1835; emancipated slaves, 1833; established Penny Postage, 1840.

IV. But they made some very grave mistakes.

- (1) They failed properly to appreciate the grievances of the working classes and the importance of the Anti-Corn Law movement.

- (2) Their financial policy was "intolerably bad" (Gladstone) and their administration was weak.
- (3) Their Irish policy was inconsistent, and Ireland "blocked the way" of progress in England.
- (4) The Opium War against China, 1839, was probably a blunder of policy.
- (5) They were discredited by the Bedchamber Question and lost authority by creeping back to office "behind the petticoats of the ladies-in-waiting."

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INDIA, 1786-1835

During this period British supremacy was finally established, British rule consolidated, and the principle that the good of the natives was the end of the Government was accepted.

I. **The Marquis Cornwallis, 1786-93.¹**

First Governor-General under Pitt's Act of 1784.

- (1) Unlike Hastings, he had no Council to hamper him. The authority he derived from Government support enabled him to check corruption among the officials. He raised their salaries, absolutely forbade private trade, and reorganised the Courts of Justice.
- (2) The Perpetual Settlement of Bengal, March, 1793. The East India Company had recognised the hereditary rights of the Bengal revenue collectors, but

¹ Created marquis 1792.

Cornwallis introduced a new system of taxation on land, the chief source of revenue.

(a) The collectors or zemindars were recognised as owners and made liable to pay a fixed annual tax to the Government.

(b) The land was surveyed and assessed, and the assessment made permanent.

(c) The rents payable by the ryots, the cultivators, to the zemindars were not fixed and were raised by the new landowners from time to time as the value of the land increased, although the Government did not raise the permanent land tax.

(d) The interests of the zemindars were thus bound up with those of the British Government, and this accounts for the fact that Bengal took practically no share in the Mutiny.

(3) The Second Mysore War, 1790-2.

The great object of Cornwallis was to purify and maintain the British rule. He did not wish to extend British dominion or interfere in native states. But the son of Hyder Ali, Tippoo Sahib, instigated partly by the French, in 1789 attacked Travancore, a state under British protection. Cornwallis made alliances with the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Peishwa of Poona. These allies proved unreliable, and Cornwallis himself attacked Seringapatam in 1792, and Tippoo surrendered.

a. Part of Majabar was added to Bombay.

b. The weakness of Hyderabad and Poona was shown, but the Nizam and Peishwa received part of Tippoo's surrendered territory, although they had not rendered efficient aid to Cornwallis.

II. Marquis Wellesley,¹ 1798-1805.

A. Grave danger from Napoleon's designs on India, facilitated by the hostility of Tippoo Sahib, now negotiating with Napoleon, by the French naval station at Mauritius, and by the presence of French soldiers in the armies of Hyderabad and Poona. Wellesley, strong in the assurance of the support of Dundas, the Secretary for War, determined to break the French power and to make Great Britain supreme in India.

B. The establishment of British authority in the south.

- (1) The Nizam of Hyderabad compelled to accept English officers for his army instead of French.
- (2) Conquest of Mysore, 1799.

"Citizen Tippoo" refused to renounce the French alliance, and was defeated and slain at Seringapatam May 4, 1799.

1799. Mysore reduced to its former limits. The seacoast added to Madras. The old Hindoo dynasty, overthrown by Hyder Ali, re-established under supervision of an English resident. The state garrisoned by British troops.

- (3) 1799. The Nizam disbanded his soldiers and received a British force instead, ceding territory to defray the expense.
- (4) 1800. The Carnatic and Tanjore brought under British authority.

C. Extension of British authority in the north-east.

1802. The Nawab of Oudh accepted British supervision, received a British force, and ceded Rohilcund in payment.

¹ Lord Mornington. Is better known by this title, which he received in 17

D. Extension of British authority in the centre and north.

The Mahrattas.

- (1) A loose confederacy in Central India. Included the Peishwa of Poona, the nominal head of the confederacy; Scindia at Gwalior; Holkar at Indore; and the Bhonsla of Berar, none of whom had a lawful title to their territories, the boundaries of which were uncertain. They continually attacked neighbouring states, especially the Nizam.
- (2) 1802. By the Treaty of Bassein the Peishwa accepted British supremacy.
- (3) September 23, 1803. Defeat of Scindia and the Rajah of Nagpore at Assaye.
- (4) November 1, 1803. Rout of Scindia at Laswarri by Lake.
- (5) November 29, 1803. Rout of the Bhonsla at Argaum.
- (6) 1804. Successful resistance of Holkar's irregular cavalry to the British, who failed to capture Bhurt-pore.

[1806. Submission of Holkar.]

E. The importance of Wellesley.

- (1) He made Great Britain the supreme authority in India, thus giving a real bond of unity to the native states, hitherto united only by a nominal obedience to the power of the Mogul.
- (2) By checking the turbulence of native princes, especially the Mahrattas, by his subsidiary treaties,¹ by establishing British residents in native courts he protected the interests of the people of India. Owing to increased security of life and property, and to improvement in methods of government, trade and agriculture rapidly increased.

¹ By a subsidiary treaty the British undertook to defend native states in return for a subsidy of money or a grant of territory.

(3) But the rapid extension of British authority in India caused opposition at home. Under Wellesley's administration dividends diminished, and disputes broke out between Wellesley and the directors, who disapproved of his Free Trade policy and military expenditure. The pressure of the Napoleonic wars led to a desire to use our military resources to defend liberty in Europe. Wellesley was recalled 1805. On the success of Holkar the extension of British frontiers was forbidden.

III. The Marquis of Hastings,¹ 1813-23.

[The capture of the Cape of Good Hope, 1806, and Mauritius, 1810, had strengthened our command of the route to India.]

Hastings, although at first opposed to a "forward policy," was obliged to adopt it, as he found that British supremacy was necessary for the interests of India. His great work was the pacification of Central India.

A. Nepaul. Our first "hill war."

1814-16. Defeat of the Goorkhas of Nepaul, who had repeatedly attacked the people of Northern Bengal, by Ochterlony, after a most difficult campaign. Much of the southern part of Nepaul was ceded, but the northern part remained independent and became our devoted ally.

B. The Pindaris.

A nomadic band of robbers, not a tribe or nation, who were encouraged by the Mahrattas, especially by the Peishwa, and caused great distress in North-central India.

1816-18. The Pindaris were annihilated after the close of the Mahratta War. The Central Provinces now formed included much of their territories.

¹ Earl Moira, created Marquis of Hastings 1816

C. The final conquest of the Mahrattas.

- (1) 1817. Rising of the Peishwa (who was on friendly terms with the Pindaris), Nagpore, and Indore against British rule.
- (2) 1818. The Peishwa routed and deposed. Poona added to Bombay.
British residents appointed at Nagpore and Indore, and British authority accepted by the chiefs of Rajpootana.
- (3) Mountstuart Elphinstone administered Poona with conspicuous success, and his efforts resulted in great extension of trade and general prosperity. The substitution of British authority for Mahratta turbulence was one of the greatest blessings India has received.

D. Hastings promoted native education, favoured the development of the native press, and made promotions in the Civil Service according to merit and not influence.

His "forward" policy and internal reforms aroused great opposition in England, where the real conditions of India were not understood, and he was recalled 1823.

IV. Lord Amherst, 1823-8.

1824. The First Burmese War due to the attacks of the Burmese on North-eastern Bengal and their seizure of Shahpoori. Capture of Rangoon and Martaban, cession by Burma of Assam and Tenasserim and Arakan.

V. Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, 1828-35.

A period of peaceful progress and judicious reform.

- A. He deposed the Rajah of Mysore for incompetence and cruelty. The government of Mysore carried on by Commissioners until 1881, when a native prince was restored. Great prosperity of Mysore under the new regime

This act involved the principle that the well-being of the governed is the first consideration of the British authority in India.

B. The abolition of suttee, 1829.

- (1) The custom of burning widows on their husbands' funeral pyres may have been due to a mistaken reading of certain texts relating to widows in the sacred books, or to the desire of male relatives to secure the property of the deceased.
- (2) The French and Dutch had suppressed suttee in their possessions, but the fear that the Sepoys would resent its abolition had led the British to condone it.
- (3) Bentinck found that suttee was not generally practised among the Sepoys and promptly suppressed it.

C. The abolition of thuggee.

The Thugs were a sect who worshipped Kali, the goddess of destruction, and regarded murder as a religious duty. They murdered many people in Central India and often took their victims' property, but long escaped detection, as many Thugs followed peaceful callings when not engaged in "pious and profitable murder," and so escaped detection. Bentinck, with great difficulty, put down thuggee.

D. Internal reforms.

- (1) Natives received judicial and civil appointments.
- (2) 1835. English became the official language of India.
- (3) English subjects were subsequently introduced into schools.
- (4) The Indian press received full freedom of publication.

The wisdom of the last two reforms, favoured by Bentinck but carried out after his departure, has been questioned by some critics and defended by others.

E. The land settlement of the North-west Provinces.

After a careful survey Bentinck confirmed the village communities, which had long existed, in the possession of their land subject to the payment to the Government of a tax which was periodically reassessed. He thus avoided the mistakes Cornwallis had made in Bengal.

F. The new charter, 1833.

The East India Company lost its trading rights and was limited to administrative work only.

G. The work of Bentinck is accurately described in the inscription written by Macaulay for his statue in Calcutta. He "infused into Oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom" and "never forgot that the end of government is the happiness of the governed."

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ENGLISH LITERATURE, 1798-1837

I. The Eighteenth Century.

- A. The eighteenth century had added to English literature the novel, the periodic essay, and much excellent light versc. In this century literary history was created and "English prose of all work" received definite form.
- B. The faults of the century, especially the earlier part, were—
 - (1) Undue attention to conventional subjects and form, especially the heroic couplet, which in time "made poetry a mere mechanic art";

- (2) The neglect of external nature and of human interests, except in the case of London society;
- (3) The excessive influence of the classics, notably in Dr. Johnson's prose.

C. Reaction began before 1798.

- (1) Nature.

James Thomson's *Seasons*, 1730, showed appreciation of the external beauty of nature, and Cowper's *Task*, published 1783, was marked by real love of "rural sights and sounds."

- (2) Variety of metre is found, notably in Gray and Collins.

- (3) Mediæval poetry and legends.

a. Gray made a great use of Welsh and Scandinavian legends in the *Bard* and the *Descent of Odin*.

β. "Ossian's" poems, dealing with old Gaelic chieftains, became popular.

γ. 1765. The publication of Percy's *Reliques*, a collection of old ballads, "changed the face of literature" and inspired many of the romantic writers.

- (4) Lyrical poetry was stimulated by the appearance, in—1786, of Burns' Poems;

1789, of Blake's *Songs of Innocence* and Burns' Songs

- (5) The French Revolution.

The interest in humanity which had appeared in Cowper's works was deepened by the French Revolution, which asserted the liberty, fraternity, and equality of all.

The Romantic revival was marked by a tendency "to get out of the library and into the fields and woods"; by variety of style, metre, and subject; by the development of lyrical poetry; by interest in the literature, legend, and history of the Middle Ages; by the consideration of problems of life; by "imaginative sensibility."

II. Poetry.

A. William Wordsworth, 1770-1850.

Wordsworth was "the Lake school." Coleridge and Southey have not much in common with him, and the chief reason for their association with him was the fact that both lived in the Lake District.

(1) The poet of nature. -

He looked not, like Thomson, at the external beauties, but at the hidden lessons of nature, which he regarded as a living force, acting on the minds of men, and giving "glimpses which would make me less forlorn."

(2) He displays a deep interest in problems of humanity, e.g.—

a. Political problems in some of his sonnets, which are among the finest in the language;

β. Problems of religion and character, e.g. *Intimations of Immortality (1807)*, *Ode to Duty*.

(3) His best work is marked by imaginative thought and by purity—he "uttered nothing base." The feebleness of some of his work is perhaps explained by his lack of humour.

B. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 1772-1834.

(1) *The Ancient Mariner*, 1798, *Christabel* and *Kubla Khan* are musical, imaginative, and supremely poetical, but mysterious and obscure.

(2) He promoted the Romantic movement by the profound influence he exercised over his contemporaries through his recognition of the value of mediævalism and his appreciation of German thought.

1798. The publication of *Lyrical Ballads* by Wordsworth and Coleridge is sometimes regarded as marking the beginning of the new Romantic school.

C. Sir Walter Scott, 1771-1832.

Scott's metrical romances (*The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, 1805) popularised the Romantic movement.

D. Lord Byron, 1788-1824.

Byron's works are marked by imagination, creative power, strong emotion, the influence of his own personality (especially in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* and his Eastern tales). His long poems contain passages of singular beauty, but are somewhat weak in structure, and sometimes (*Don Juan*) immoral in tone, and the "Byronic" style is often affected.

He was less insular than his contemporaries, and had a great influence on the development of Romanticism in Europe as well as England.

E. The lyrical poetry of this period was excellent.

- (1) John Keats (1795-1821) possessed the power of appreciating the thoughts of other times (*Ode to a Grecian Urn*), which marked the Romantic movement. His poetry, like that of Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822), is marked by beauty, fancy, and music, but Keats was more popular than Shelley, whose idealism and mysticism appeal more to the thinker than the people, and who often showed reckless disregard for morality.
- . (2) Ballad poetry is well represented by Scott's songs, Byron's Hebrew melodies, Campbell's ballads, and Moore's Irish melodies.

III. Prose.

A. Novels.

- (1) The *Waverley Novels* (*Waverley*, 1814), the first English historical romances, are marked by references to mediæval and Scottish history and legend, by the reality and variety of their characters, by vivid descriptions of places, and by manly tone.

(2) Literary women.

- a. Jane Austen's (1775-1817) novels (*Sense and Sensibility*, 1811, *Pride and Prejudice*, 1813) represent the ordinary life of "genteel" society with fluency and considerable power of irony.

β. Frances Burney (Madame D'Arblay), 1752-1840.

In *Evelina* (1778) she caricatured people of different ranks.

γ. Maria Edgeworth, 1767-1849.

Described Irish life with conspicuous success (e.g. in *Castle Rackrent*, 1800), but was not so successful in her descriptions of London Society.

B. Periodical literature.

(1) Newspapers.

Six daily papers were published in London at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the chief being the *Times* (founded by John Walter, 1785), the *Morning Post* (founded 1772), and the *Morning Chronicle* (founded 1769). The desire for news of the war with France and the great ability of the contributors (who included Coleridge, Lamb, Mackintosh, and Hazlitt) led to an increase in the circulation and influence of newspapers, and to a marked improvement in the position of newspaper writers, who had previously been regarded with much disfavour as "blackguard news-writers."

(2) Reviews.

a. The *Edinburgh Review*, founded 1802 by Jeffrey and Brougham, was Whig, and the *Quarterly Review*, founded 1808, to which Scott frequently contributed, was Tory. Both were strictly reviews, and their literary criticisms, though generally good, were sometimes, as in the case of Keats, unfair. Macaulay's *Essays* appeared after 1825 in the *Edinburgh*.

β. *Blackwood's Magazine*, founded 1817 [to which J. G. Lockhart and "Christopher North" (Professor Wilson) contributed], and the *London Magazine* (the organ of the "Cockney school") dealt with more general subjects. The Cockney

school included Charles Lamb, whose *Essays of Elia* are marked by humour and charm, and of whom it was said, "the streets of London are his fairyland"; Hazlitt, a great dramatic and literary critic; and Leigh Hunt, a writer of miscellaneous articles. Thomas de Quincey, whose somewhat florid prose illustrates the tendency to imagery which marks the English prose of the period, wrote for the *London Magazine*, but was not a member of the Cockney school.

C. History.

(1) William Mitford, 1744-1827.

His *History of Greece* (1784-1810) was based on the study of original documents and became very popular. The later volumes are coloured by the writer's strong prejudice against democracy, due to the French Revolution.

(2) Henry Hallam, 1777-1859.

1818. *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages.*

1827. *Constitutional History of England.*

Written from the Whig point of view, but eminently judicial, fair, and trustworthy.

(3) Sir William Napier, 1785-1860.

1828-40. *History of the Peninsular War.* A valuable authority, but coloured by strong prejudices, personal and political.

D. Philosophy.

Three writers are important for the effect of their works, which are not of special literary merit.

(1) Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834), in his *Principles of Population* (1798), showed that poverty and moral restraint tend to check the growth of population, which, without such checks, would grow too large

for subsistence. In the *Nature and Progress of Rent* (1815) he explained the principles on which rent is decided.

(2) **Jeremy Bentham, 1748-1832.**

His chief work was *Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1780), and he wrote for the *Westminster Review*, which he helped to establish in 1823. He maintained that the object of government was to promote the "greatest happiness of the greatest number," and his writings contributed to important reforms, e.g. of the administration of justice and of prison regulations.

(3) **David Ricardo (1772-1823)** revolutionised Political Economy by his famous theory of Rent, and pointed out that Rent is the surplus profit which any land, either from the convenience of its situation or from the fertility of its soil, yields over the worst land in cultivation which pays no rent.

IV. General.

The literature of the period is marked by three important movements:—

- A. The Romantic revival;
- B. The appearance of women novelists, whose works are written with a high moral tone and purity of expression.
- C. The development of periodical literature, which soon became a potent force in politics.

References

- A. *A Short History of English Literature*, by Saintsbury, Book X, chaps. I., II., and III. (Macmillan.)
- B. For lyrical poetry, *The Golden Treasury*, Dent, Book IV.

IRELAND, 1831-48

"Ireland had a starving population, an absentee aristocracy, and an alien Church, and in addition the weakest executive in the world" (Disraeli).

I. Daniel O'Connell, 1775-1847.

- A. 1831-43. "The Liberator" rendered great service to the cause of Catholic Emancipation (page 743), and for many years was "Dictator" of the Irish people.
- B. He became the champion of Irish nationality and tried by means of the agitation which had secured Emancipation to ensure the Repeal of the Union. He thus distracted attention somewhat from the agrarian grievances, especially the conditions of land tenure, which were one of the chief causes of the misery of Ireland.
 - (1) He opposed the supremacy of the Anglican Church, and objected to the withdrawal of the Appropriation Clause.
 - (2) 1838. He opposed the Irish Poor Law because of the strength of national feeling against the workhouse.
 - (3) In many respects he agreed with the Whigs, in his support of religious equality, Free Trade, and steady opposition to negro slavery. The Lichfield House Compact, 1835 (page 738), strengthened the Whigs in the Commons, but the alliance with O'Connell, regarded as an unscrupulous demagogue in England, weakened them in the country.
- C. He roused national feeling by his monster meetings, the success of which his magnificent voice and brilliant oratory ensured. But he persistently opposed the use of physical force. He secured absolute order at the Clare election (1828), and refused to hold the Clontarf meeting (1843) in defiance of the Lord Lieutenant's

proclamation. This refusal led to the separation of the Young Ireland party (page 794) and to the weakening of his own influence.

- D. His language was violent. He called the Whigs "base, brutal, and bloody," and the House of Lords "a body of scoundrels." Judged by the standards of English political life, his methods appear sometimes unscrupulous, but his opponents employed language as violent and methods as unscrupulous against him.
- E. He greatly embittered the national animosity between England and Ireland, which has since complicated gravely the Irish Question. This the worst result of his life.

II. Earl Grey's Ministry, November, 1830—July, 1834.

A. Causes of discontent.

- (1) The condition of the small farmers and agricultural labourers was miserable. The cottier tenancy¹ by which farms were held rendered it difficult for tenants to make a living. There was no proper system of Poor Relief and emigration was very costly.
- (2) O'Connell, after Catholic Emancipation was secured, aimed at repealing the Union.
- (3) The Roman Catholic majority strongly resented having to pay tithes for the support of the Anglican Church. This grievance was felt by everyone, because each tenant paid the tithes on his land, which sometimes came to fractions of a farthing. This vexatious system made the cost of collection very heavy.

B. Riots and disorder.

1831. *The Tithe War.* Many atrocities were committed; collectors and policemen were often murdered.

1833. About 9000 crimes, due to popular discontent, were committed.

¹ "Cottiers" were peasant farmers whose rents were determined by competition. Owing to the difficulty of getting farms the cottiers often offered a higher rent than they could possibly pay.

C. Irish Board of National Education, 1831.

- (1) An attempt to strengthen Protestantism, by limiting elementary education to Protestant Charter schools, which aimed at the conversion of Catholic children, had failed.
- (2) The Kildare Place Society, a private association giving purely secular education and receiving a Government grant, was not supported by Roman Catholics, who insisted upon definite religious instruction by Roman Catholic teachers.
- (3) The Board of National Education, founded by Stanley 1831, received the grant formerly given to the Kildare Place Society, and arranged for common literary and separate religious instruction for Protestants and Catholics. The Protestant and Catholic Archbishops agreed on non-contentious Biblical extracts for reading in school, and dogmatic instruction was left for out of school hours.
 - a. The arrangement was opposed by extreme Protestants, led by Sir Robert Inglis, who objected to restrictions on Biblical teaching, and by extreme Catholics, who objected to the Biblical extracts selected for common reading as inadequate.
 - β. But real good was done by the Board, which was the result of an honest attempt to deal fairly with both religions.

D. The Coercion Bill, 1833.

The Coercion Bill, which established martial law in disaffected districts, was passed owing to the influence of Stanley. It led to an immediate decrease of disorder, but was viewed with disfavour by many Whigs and Radicals.

E. The Irish Church Temporalities Bill, 1833.

The Government had practically undertaken to collect the tithe itself, but had failed, and the Protestant clergy were greatly impoverished. To relieve them and allay the discontent of the Roman Catholics Althorp introduced this Bill, which provided—

- (1) That a tax should be imposed on all ecclesiastical incomes above £200, and the proceeds used to repair churches;
- (2) That the number of Protestant bishoprics should be reduced;
- (3) That Church lands should be let on more reasonable terms;
- (4) That the surplus derived from these arrangements should be appropriated to any purposes "secular or otherwise, as might be thought fit."

This "Appropriation Clause" caused much opposition, as many denied the right to apply ecclesiastical revenues to secular purposes. Lord John Russell, in opposition to many of his colleagues, spoke strongly in its favour, and "upset the coach." Stanley, Ripon, Richmond, and Sir James Graham resigned, although the clause was not carried.

F. Earl Grey resigned office (July, 1834) owing to a dispute arising out of the proposed renewal of the Coercion Act.

III. Melbourne's Ministry, 1835-41.

A. The Lichfield House Compact ensured alliance between O'Connell and the Whigs. Therefore—

- (1) The Repeal agitation was dropped;
- (2) Melbourne adopted a more liberal Irish policy.

B. 1835. Appointment of Lord Mulgrave (created Marquis of Normanby, 1838) as Lord Lieutenant and of Thomas Drummond as Under-Secretary. Drummond's declaration that "property has duties as well as rights."

Roman Catholics were admitted to office, and an attempt was made to weaken the extreme Protestant party, notably by the abolition of Orange lodges in the army.

C. 1838. The Irish Poor Law Act.

Carried in spite of O'Connell's opposition.

D. 1838. The Tithe Commutation Act

Converted tithes into a fixed rent charge and devoted any surplus revenue to the Anglican Church in Ireland.

The Appropriation Clause was dropped, and this act of surrender humiliated the Whigs.

E. 1840. The Irish Municipal Act

Abolished fifty-eight corporations, established ten new ones, and reformed many abuses of Irish municipal life.

F. But the efforts of Melbourne did not solve the Irish Question, which was largely agrarian, and in 1839 the Anti-Rent Conspiracy led to a renewal of riots and murder.

IV. Peel's Ministry, September, 1841-June, 1846.

A. Repeal.

(1) O'Connell, believing from their previous policy that Peel and Stanley (Secretary for War and Colonies until December, 1845) would not redress the grievances of Ireland, again advocated in "monster meetings" the Repeal of the Union, and his followers hoped for a "Parliament in College Green" by 1843. Consequent outbreak of crime and passage of "Arms Act" by Parliament (1843) and dispatch of 35,000 troops to Ireland. O'Connell was strongly opposed to physical violence and disbanded a monster meeting at Clontarf (October 8, 1843) because it had been prohibited by the Lord Lieutenant. This action greatly weakened O'Connell's influence. He was subsequently imprisoned for sedition after a trial in which the jury was packed and Judge Pennefather proved grossly

unfair to the accused. The sentence was reversed by the Lords (1844).

Several of the lay lords, incensed by O'Connell's attack on their House, determined to vote on his case, although it was a custom that lay lords, nominally entitled to vote, should not exercise the right of voting in legal cases. Lord Wharncliffe persuaded them to abstain, and the lay lords never again voted on a legal appeal.

(2) The Young Ireland movement.

1840. William Smith O'Brien, a man of wealth and position, and Thomas Davis formed the Young Ireland party to promote Repeal, and were supported by the *Nation*, ably edited by Charles Gavan Duffy. They continually advocated the use of physical force, and separated from O'Connell after the Clontarf meeting, but did not at first appear dangerous.

1848. The rebellions on the Continent and the feeling aroused by the famine, for which the Government was held partly responsible, made the extreme section of the Young Irish party dangerous. The extremists led by John Mitchel, who started the *United Irishman*, definitely aimed at stirring up rebellion, and O'Brien was implicated.

The Government suppressed the *United Irishman* and transported Mitchel. After a skirmish between his followers and the police in "the widow MacCormack's potato patch" at Ballingarry, O'Brien was sentenced to execution, but was transported to Australia. The Young Irish movement failed because—

- a. It was more of a literary than a political movement;
- β. It never gained the support of the Irish peasantry;
- γ. Most of its leaders were too young to influence the country.

B. The Devon Commission, 1845.

Relying on the report of the Earl of Devon's Commission of Inquiry into the Irish land question, Stanley endeavoured without success to secure compensation to evicted tenants for improvements they had effected on their holdings. The passage of the Bill would probably have alleviated distress, and its rejection was a grave mistake.

C. Peel and Irish education.

(1) The Maynooth Grant, 1845.

Maynooth College, the famous institution for training Irish priests, found the Government grant of £9000 a year too small, and Peel proposed to increase it to £26,000.

- a. The proposal was carried in spite of the furious opposition of English Churchmen (led by Sir Robert Inglis, M.P. for Oxford University) and of Nonconformists. The opposition was roused by the increased endowment of Roman Catholicism, but no new principle was involved as a grant had been made since 1808.
- β. Gladstone approved of the proposal, but resigned office because he thought his support was inconsistent with the views expressed in his book on *The State in its Relations with the Church*.

(2) Queen's Colleges, 1845.

The University of Dublin, the only university in Ireland, was strongly Protestant, although Roman Catholics could attend, and honours and rewards were confined to Anglicans.

Peel proposed to remedy this grievance of Roman Catholics by founding an examining body, Queen's University, to which three purely secular teaching

colleges at Cork, Galway, and Belfast were to be affiliated. He hoped that Catholics and Protestants would unite to support these new colleges.

a. The extreme Protestants, led by Inglis, who termed the colleges "godless," objected to the exclusion of religious teaching.

β. The Roman Catholics, who at first supported the colleges, subsequently made the same objection, and the colleges, which had made an excellent start, suffered from their withdrawal.

(3) Thus Peel's ministry did much to promote Irish education, although bitter religious differences greatly hampered its efforts.

Reference:

A. *A History of Our Own Times*, by McCarthy, chaps. xii., xviii. (Chatto and Windus.)

FREE TRADE AND THE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS

I. The Class Interests involved.

A. The landowners and farmers wished to keep up the price of corn, thus ensuring higher rents and larger profits.

1815. Corn Law forbidding importation of corn, when the price was less than 80s. per quarter.

1828. The sliding scale made duty vary inversely with the price.

1841. The Whigs proposed to fix the duty at 8s. a quarter.

Thus both parties in 1841 accepted the theory that Corn Laws were necessary.

B. The manufacturers wanted cheap bread because it would enable the workmen to live on less wages. The labourers, still suffering from the new Poor Law which deprived them of outdoor relief, and from the new machinery which displaced labour and lowered wages, wanted cheap bread to save them from starvation.

C. Thus the repeal of the Corn Laws was the result of the Industrial Revolution (page 626), which led to diversity of interests between the industrial and agricultural classes.

II. The Anti-Corn Law League.

A. 1838. Founded in Manchester. A middle-class movement. The Free Trade Hall built on the "fields of Peterloo." Strongly supported by the newly enfranchised industrial towns of the north of England.

B. The leaders.

(1) Richard Cobden, 1804-65.

Son of a Sussex farmer, became a Manchester cotton manufacturer. One of the founders of the League. A most effective platform speaker, a master of logical, clear, simple, and straightforward argument—"The Apostle of Free Trade." Entered Parliament, 1841, as member for Stockport. After the Bill for repeal was passed Peel asserted in the House of Commons, that the name that ought to be associated with the success of these measures is the name of Richard Cobden.

(2) John Bright, 1811-89.

Son of a Rochdale carpet manufacturer. A strong supporter of the League and a great orator, whose pathos, humour, and sarcasm strengthened the impression made by Cobden's arguments.

Cobden and Bright were types of the middle classes whom the Reform Act had made a power in the State.

(3) Charles Villiers.

A man of higher social standing. Brother of Lord Clarendon (many years Foreign Secretary). Was the champion of Free Trade in the House of Commons and moved to repeal the Corn Laws every year from 1838-45. Lord Howick (Earl Grey, 1845) and Mr. Milner Gibson rendered him valuable aid.

III. Peel's Free Trade Budget.

A. The "intolerably bad" finance of the Whigs and the cost of the Afghan War had caused heavy deficits. The wretched condition of the working classes (due partly to high prices) appealed strongly to Peel, and believing that "the country had arrived at the limits of taxation on articles of consumption," he determined, like Huskisson, to increase the revenue by remitting taxation in the hope that a greater revenue would result from the increased trade due to the remission.

B. The Budget of 1842—

- (1) Imposed an income tax for three years of sevenpence in the pound;
- (2) Remitted taxes by removing all duties of a prohibitory character, reducing the duties on raw material to a maximum of five per cent, and those on manufactured articles to a maximum of twenty per cent.

a. This Budget involved the principle of Free Trade.

β. Peel's object was to "make this country a cheap country for living," and he therefore facilitated the fall of prices by lowering duties on imported goods.

C. The Budget of 1845.

- (1) The financial position of the country had greatly improved owing to the Budget of 1842, good harvests, and railway development.

- (2) Peel, encouraged by the success of his former Budget, abolished all duties on raw material except timber and tallow, removed all export duties, and abolished those on about 430 imported articles.
- (3) Although the income tax was not necessary to provide supplies for the year, Peel renewed it as a safeguard in his attempt to fight "hostile tariffs with free imports."

D. Peel's financial policy had displeased two classes.

- (1) The Conservatives, who objected to Free Trade principles.
- (2) The opponents of the Corn Laws, who resented his refusal to remove the duties on corn, which he retained as a matter of expediency, not now on principle.

IV. The Potato Famine.

Autumn, 1845. Outbreak of the potato rot in Ireland. As the potato was the staple food of the Irish peasants the failure of the crop caused famine. Starvation and fever (due largely to lack of food) led to appalling mortality, and Peel asserted that "the removal of impediments to imports is the only effectual remedy." He had already accepted the principle of Free Trade, but the potato famine "forced his hand" and was the immediate cause of the repeal of the Corn Laws. "Famine itself, against which we warred, joined us" (Bright).

V. The Repeal.

- A. The Anti-Corn Law League was now very powerful, and Peel, by October, 1845, had accepted their views.
- B. November 22, 1845. Lord John Russell, in his "Edinburgh Letter" to his constituents of the City of London, asserted that the Corn Laws had proved "the blight of commerce, the bane of agriculture, and the source of

bitter divisions amongst classes," and urged the Government to repeal them. Russell's letter had a great effect on Peel.

- C. The Cabinet was divided. Aberdeen, Graham, and Sidney Herbert agreed with Peel to support the repeal. The Duke of Wellington, believing that "a good government is more important than Corn Laws," supported Peel, although personally anxious to retain the Laws, Lord Stanley and the Duke of Buccleuch persistently opposed him.
- D. December 4, 1845. The *Times* startled the country by stating that the Government would repeal the Corn Laws. The information probably given to Delane, the editor, by Aberdeen (not, as then generally believed, by Hon. Mrs. Norton, the poetess). Perhaps the greatest journalistic coup of the century.
- E. December 5, 1845. Resignation of Peel. Failure of Lord John Russell to form a ministry, owing to the refusal of Earl Grey to accept office if Palmerston were Foreign Secretary. Peel became Prime Minister for the third time December 20, 1845. The Duke of Buccleuch withdrew his opposition to repeal, and Gladstone succeeded Stanley as Secretary for the Colonies.¹
- F. Peel's proposals for repeal.

- a. That up to February 1, 1849, the duty on imported corn should vary from 10s. to 4s. per quarter, according to price.
- β. After February 1, 1849, only a nominal duty of 1s. per quarter to be imposed. The Corn Bill passed the Commons May 15, 1846, and the Lords (owing to Wellington's influence) June 25, 1846.

¹ Gladstone lost his seat which was vacated by acceptance of office, and went f'r'l' w' t' ll f' a di- lution of 1847.

VI. The Conservative Split.

A. The repeal of the Corn Laws broke up the Conservative party. The representatives of the landed interest which had returned Peel in 1841 to protect the Corn Laws regarded his action as "a great betrayal." Lord George Bentinck became the leader of the new Protection party and Disraeli, hitherto regarded as a political adventurer, won its favour by his bitter attacks on Peel.

"I belong to a party which can triumph no more, for we have nothing left on our side except the constituencies which we have not betrayed."

B. The Peelites, Free Trade Conservatives who followed Peel, formed a new middle party. They were few in numbers but were exceptionally able, and included Gladstone, Sidney Herbert, Sir James Graham, Cardwell, Lord Lincoln (afterwards Duke of Newcastle), Canning, Dalhousie, and Elgin. They refused seats in the ministries of Russell 1846 and Derby 1852, and for a time formed a third party like "a roving iceberg on which men could not land with safety, but with which ships might come into perilous collision." They joined Lord Aberdeen's Coalition Government in 1852, and the five first named ultimately became leaders of the Liberals.

C. The Fall of Peel's ministry.

The Conservatives had generally supported Coercion Bills for Ireland, but on June 25, 1846, they combined with Free Traders, Whigs, and Irish members to throw out a Coercion Bill Peel had introduced. June 29, 1846, resignation of Peel.

References:

- A. *History of Our Own Times*, by McCarthy, chaps. XII.-XVI. (Chatto and Windus.)
Twelve English Statesmen: Peel, by Thursfield, chap. x.
- The Political History of England, 1837-1901*, by Low and Sandars, chap. III. (Longmans.)
- Life of Richard Cobden*, by Morley, Vol. I, chaps. VI.-IX. (Chapman and Hall.)
- B. *Life of Cobden*, by Morley, Vol. II, p. 140.
- C. *Castle Richmond*, by Trollope. (Chapman and Hall.)

PALMERSTON AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 1846-51

From 1846-67 domestic questions occupy less attention, mainly owing to the influence of Palmerston.

I. The Spanish Marriages.

- A. 1843. Louis Philippe had promised Queen Victoria and Aberdeen that his son, the Duc de Montpensier, should not marry the Infanta of Spain until her elder sister, Queen Isabella, was married and had children.
- B. 1846. English opinion favoured the marriage of Isabella to Prince Leopold of Coburg, but owing to the intrigues of Louis Philippe (anxious to secure the throne of Spain for his descendants) and Guizot,
- C. October 10, 1846. Queen Isabella married Don Francis of Assisi, Duke of Cadiz, Louis Philippe hoping that they would have no children, and the Infanta married the Duc de Montpensier the same day.
 - a. Louis Philippe had thus broken his promise to Queen Victoria.
 - β. The character of the Duke of Cadiz was such that his marriage to the Queen was a disgrace.
- D. Palmerston's attempt to stop the marriages failed, but British interests were not prejudiced. But the action of Louis Philippe led to the breaking off of friendly relations between France and Great Britain, and the attempt of Louis to promote his family interests rather than those of France caused opposition in Paris.

II. Switzerland.

- A. 1846. Seven Catholic cantons, led by Lucerne, adopted, owing to the influence of the Jesuits, a conservative and ultramontane¹ policy and formed the Sonderbund² to secure independence of the liberal federal party.

¹ i.e. strong Roman Catholic. A policy which had reference to the interests of the Pope who lived beyond the Alps.

² The League of Secession.

B. 1847. Owing to the opposition of the Liberal assembly at Berne, and to the (November 24, 1847) capture of Lucerne by the federal forces, the Catholics appealed to Louis Philippe who, anxious to gain prestige, wished, although a constitutional monarch, to intervene on behalf of this reactionary party in Switzerland.

C. Palmerston asserted the neutrality of Switzerland as guaranteed, 1815, opposed Louis' intervention, and by skilful diplomacy prolonged negotiations until the Liberals had gained the day.

III. Portugal.

1847. Palmerston sent a British fleet which put down an insurrection against Queen Maria. When later she refused to grant constitutional reforms he compelled her to summon the Cortes and to restore the constitution.

IV. The Year of Revolutions, 1848.

A. France.

(1) Weakness of Louis Philippe.

Owing to the Spanish marriages he had lost the friendship of England; he had alienated some supporters by his policy towards Switzerland; his Government, though possessing a parliamentary majority, depended on the support of the rich bourgeois, and had done nothing to remedy the real grievances of the working classes.

(2) February 23, 1848. A Republican and Socialist revolution in Paris. Abdication and flight to England of Louis Philippe.

(3) Supremacy of the Socialists, who established national workshops.

(4) June 24-6. The Republicans, led by Cavaignac, overthrew the Socialists and abolished the workshops.

(5) December, 1848. Prince Louis Napoleon, son of Louis King of Holland and Hortense de Beauharnais, elected Prince President by a plebiscite of the nation.

The example of France increased the tendency to revolt in other countries.

B. Italy.

(1) Italian revolutions were due to opposition to the rule in Lombardy of Austria, which, under Metternich, had become a stereotyped despotism ; to the desire of Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, to make the House of Savoy supreme in the north ; to opposition to the infamous Ferdinand II, "Bomba," in Naples ; to the action of Republicans led by Mazzini, and at first to the Liberal sympathies of Pius IX.

(2) 1848. A Liberal constitution given to Piedmont. Capture of Milan by Charles Albert, and incorporation of Lombardy with Sardinia.

(3) Reaction.

a. Pius IX declared in favour of Austria and fled from Rome.

β. March 23, 1849. The Austrians under Radetsky routed Charles Albert at Novara.

γ. But the cause of Italian nationality was ultimately strengthened by the abdication in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel II, of Charles Albert, who was regarded as a martyr to the cause of Italian unity.

8. July 3, 1849. The French occupied Rome.

C. Austria.

(1) The chief causes of the Revolution in Austria were national opposition to the centralised despotism in Vienna and the attempt to replace the official German language by national languages—Magyar in Hungary, Czech in Bohemia and Croatian in the south

Further causes were opposition to Austrian tariffs in Hungary and agrarian grievances in Galicia.

(2) May 17, 1848. Rising in Vienna, flight of Metternich.
Proclamation of Constitutional Government at Pesth and Prague.

(3) Reaction.

The House of Hapsburg was saved by—

a. The Imperial Tradition which secured strong support for Francis Joseph, who, at the age of eighteen, succeeded to the throne, which his inefficient uncle, Ferdinand, resigned December 2, 1848.

β. The fidelity of the army.

1848. Capture of Prague (June 15) and Vienna (November 1).

γ. The support of Russia.

April 14, 1849. The Independence of Hungary proclaimed.

August 14, 1849. Capitulation of the Hungarians at Vilagos to the combined Austrians and Russians. Abolition of Magyar liberties and suppression of the Hungarian rising with great cruelty by General Haynau.

(4) Flight of some Hungarian leaders, including Kossuth, to Turkey. Refusal of the Sultan to give them up. His refusal strongly supported by Palmerston.

D. Germany.

(1) The rising in Berlin was due largely to the desire for a German national parliament in which the authority of Austria might be weakened.

(2) March 15-16. Rising in Berlin; withdrawal of Prince William,¹ the "Cartridge Prince," who ordered the soldiers to fire on the mob.

¹ Afterwards the Emperor William I.

(3) Frederick William IV, after trying to establish a League of the North to weaken the supremacy of Austria, and after (through fear of Austria) refusing the Imperial Crown, was compelled to agree to—

1850. The Convention of Olmütz, which broke up the League of the North and recognised the right of Austria to interfere in the internal affairs of German States.

E. England.

The failure of the Chartist Rising (page 836).

V. Don Pacifico, 1850.

A. Trifling disputes had arisen with Greece owing to the seizure by the King of land belonging to Finlay, a British subject, and to injury done to the property of David Pacifico, a British subject and a Jew, by a mob at Athens.

B. Finlay and Pacifico ought to have brought their case before Greek law-courts, but instead appealed to Palmerston, who ordered Admiral Parker to blockade the Piræus, January 18, 1850.

C. His action was most arbitrary.

- (1) Pacifico, a man of no means or position, fraudulently claimed £26,000 damages for destruction of his property and papers.
- (2) Russia strongly protested against the blockade.
- (3) France offered mediation, but, owing to a mistake in the instructions given to the British Consul at Athens, differences arose between France and Great Britain and the French Ambassador was withdrawn from London.
- (4) The House of Lords censured Palmerston for supporting claims "doubtful in point of justice or exaggerated in amount."

D. *Civis Romanus.*

- (1) The ministry regarded the action of the Lords as an unconstitutional attempt to control the executive, and refused to resign.
- (2) June, 1850. Palmerston made his greatest speech in support of a resolution of confidence.

Just as Rome always protected any Roman who could say "*Civis Romanus sum*," so "*the watchful eye and the strong arm of England*" will protect "*a British subject in whatever land he may be*."

The motion opposed by Peel, who asserted that the aim of diplomacy was "*to appease angry passions and to check national resentment*," and by Gladstone, who said that a Roman citizen differed from a British subject because he "*belonged to a conquering race, and for him there was an exceptional system of law*."

The motion was carried by forty-six. Triumph of Palmerston.

VI. Fall of Palmerston.

A. Palmerston had given great offence to the Queen, Prince Consort (who strongly disliked him), and his colleagues by his failure to consult them on important points. The Queen sent him a memorandum, August 12, 1850, requesting that he would "*state what he proposes to do*," and directing that a measure sanctioned by the Queen should "*not be arbitrarily altered or modified by the minister*." Palmerston accepted the implied reproof in excellent part, and promised to abide by it.

B. He made a mistake in not repudiating with sufficient strength some injudicious remarks about Austria made by a Radical deputation.

C. The *Coup d'État*, December 1-4, 1851.

- (1) The Prince President, Louis Napoleon, had, by the *Coup d'État*, imprisoned his opponents, dissolved the Chambers and caused the death of many Parisians in

the street fighting of December 3-4. His action confirmed by seven and a half million votes to little over half a million in a national plebiscite and the Third Empire declared December, 1852.

- (2) Palmerston, without consulting the Queen or his colleagues, expressed to Count Walewski his approval of Louis Napoleon's action.
- (3) December 19, 1851. Dismissal of Palmerston from the Foreign Office by Russell. Earl Granville appointed Foreign Secretary.

Palmerston's fall was due not, as he thought, to the result of foreign intrigue, but to the resentment of the Queen at his disregard of her memorandum.

References :

- A. *Modern Europe*, by Alison Phillips, chaps. xi. and xii. (Rivingtons.)
- A History of Our Own Times*, by McCarthy, chaps. xvii. and xix. (Chatto and Windus.)
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SIR ROBERT PEEL, 1788-1850

I Life.

1788. Born. Son of Sir Robert Peel, a wealthy Lancashire cotton spinner.
1807. Took the first "double first" on record at Oxford.
- 1812-18. Under-Secretary for Ireland. Established the Royal Irish Constabulary.
1817. M.P. for Oxford University.
1819. Carried Peel's Act for the resumption of cash payments (page 726).
1822. Home Secretary. Modified the severity of the ~~anti-slavery~~ code.

1827. Refused office under Canning owing to his opposition to Catholic Emancipation.

1828-30. Home Secretary under Wellington. Organised the London police force.

1829. Introduced the Catholic Emancipation Bill.

1834-5. Prime Minister for five months.

1835-9. Built up the Conservative Party.

1839. Refused office owing to the Bedchamber Question (page 760).

1841-6. Prime Minister.

1842 and 1845. Free Trade Budgets.

1845. Maynooth Grant.

1846. Repealed the Corn Laws.

1846. Resigned, owing to the defeat of a Coercion Bill by the Whigs and Protectionists.

1850. July 2. Died from the effects of a fall from his horse.

II. His Importance as a Statesman.

A. Peel as a party man.

- (1) He saw that the old Toryism, which resisted all progress, had been rendered obsolete by the new conditions arising from the Industrial Revolution and the Reform Bill. He therefore accepted the Reform Bill, and organised the "Conservative"¹ party on the lines of the Tamworth Manifesto issued 1834 (page 757).
- (2) But he refused to sacrifice the interests of the nation to those of his party, and—
 - (a) He twice broke up his party when its principles seemed inconsistent with national needs:
 - α 1829. He broke up the old Tory party by the Catholic Emancipation Bill.
 - β 1846. By repealing the Corn Laws he broke up the new Conservative party, which did not really recover its position until 1866.

¹ The name "Conservative" was first used in 1831, but was not generally adopted by the party till 1835.

(b) He consented to hold office only "on the condition of being unshackled by any other obligations than those of consulting the public interests, and of providing for the public safety." He sympathised with Canning's Liberal commercial policy, although this was opposed by the Tories and Conservatives. He therefore became a "Parliamentary middleman," he "pleased no party," and Disraeli asserted further that his last Government was not Conservatism, but "organised hypocrisy."

(3) As a party leader he was remarkable—

- a. For his skilful parliamentary tactics—"He was the greatest member of Parliament there has ever been" (Disraeli);
- b. For the close supervision he exercised while Prime Minister over his colleagues. He agreed with Gladstone's statement (July 13, 1846) "Your Government has not been carried on by a Cabinet, but by the heads of departments, each in communication with you." No subsequent Prime Minister has maintained such authority over his Cabinet.

B. Peel was a great financier.

- (1) His Budgets of 1842 and 1845 were bold and statesmanlike.
- (2) 1819. He displayed great ability in arranging for the resumption of cash payments.
- 1844. By the Bank Charter Act he promoted commercial stability.
 - a. The issue and banking departments of the Bank of England were separated, the former coming under Government control

β. The Bank of England not to issue notes for more than £14,000,000, for which amount it held Government securities, except in return for bullion to be kept on deposit.

It has been objected that this Act does not provide for financial crises, but it is always possible for Parliament to suspend the Act when necessary. This has been done in 1847, 1857, and 1866, and in two of these cases the fact of suspension restored credit and rendered an additional issue of notes unnecessary.

- (3) He succeeded in placing on a sound financial basis the national finances, which the Whigs had sadly mismanaged.
- (4) His financial measures were an important foundation for the victorious commercialism of England in the following generation. Thus, like Walpole (page 564), Peel was one of our greatest peace ministers.

C. Peel and the working classes.

- (1) Although leader of an aristocratic party Peel had real sympathy with the poor and "showed the Conservatives the importance and duty of considering the working classes."
- (2) His knowledge of the conditions of the labourers and artisans made him realise the supreme importance of cheap bread, and after his defeat in 1846 he expressed the hope that "I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of goodwill in the abodes of those whose lot it is to labour and earn their daily bread with the sweat of their brow, when they shall recruit their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened with a sense of injustice."

D. His political insight.

He lacked the foresight which enables statesmen to make provision for the future, but when a crisis arose his political insight and "intellectual sincerity" enabled him to understand it fully, and his practical ability led him to take the measures necessary. He never sacrificed the real interests of the moment to opinions formed under other conditions, and his career is marked by three "great surrenders"—

- a. The resumption of cash payments, 1819 ;
- β. The Catholic Emancipation Bill, 1829 ;
- γ. The repeal of the Corn Laws, 1846.

E. He took comparatively little interest in foreign affairs, but heartily sympathised with Aberdeen's pacific policy.

III. His Character.

- A. In public life he displayed courage, sagacity, and untiring industry. He was eminently just. Owing to his sterling character he exercised a remarkable "moral influence" over the House of Commons and gained the favour of the Queen, who at first was somewhat prejudiced against him.
- B. His family life was simple and pure. He was no lover of general society, for which his lack of polish unfitted him—"Peel has no manners" (Wellington).
- C. His temper, though usually kept in control, was quick, and he was exceedingly sensitive. In 1846 he wished to challenge one of his opponents (probably Bentinck or Disraeli) to a duel, but was dissuaded by his friends.

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BRITISH INDIA, 1836-56

I. The North-West Frontier.

The advance of Russia in Central Asia seemed likely to prove dangerous to India, and under Governors-General Lord Auckland, 1836-41, Lord Ellenborough 1841-4, Sir Henry Hardinge (Viscount Hardinge, 1846), 1844-7, Lord Dalhousie, 1847-56, the question of the consolidation of the North-West Frontier, a new problem, became of great importance. This involved the establishment of British influence in Afghanistan (controlling the passes), the conquest of the Punjab and of Scinde (which commanded the lower waters of the Indus).

A. The First Afghan War, 1837-43.

- (1) 1838. Expulsion of Dost Mahomed, who had usurped the throne of Afghanistan and was suspected of intrigues with the Russians. Restoration of the rightful King, Shah Sujah, protected by an inadequate British force.
- (2) 1841. Rising in Cabul under Akbar Khan, son of Dost Mahomed. Murder of Burnes, the British Resident, and Sir William McNaughten, the Envoy. Retreat of 16,000 British (including 4000 soldiers) from Cabul, through the Koord Cabul and Khyber passes. The women and children made prisoners by Akbar. Of the rest only Dr. Brydon (January 13, 1842) reached Jellalabad at the head of the Khyber Pass. The greatest disaster suffered by the British in India.
- (3) 1842. The Afghans checked by General Sale at Jellalabad and finally defeated by Pollock, who captured Cabul September 15, 1842.
- (4) Restoration to the throne of Afghanistan of Dost Mahomed. Withdrawal of British troops.

(5) Operations were rendered difficult owing to the refusal of the Sikhs to grant a passage through their territory, to the distance from the base, the nature of the country and the bad climate.

The danger from Russia was overestimated, and the difficulty involved in an attempt to force a weak sovereign on a warlike nation was increased owing to the inadequate force provided and the lack of decision of the British Envoy.

B. Scinde.

1843. Brilliant victory of Sir Charles Napier over the Ameer of Scinde at Meanee. Annexation of Scinde by Hardinge.

The attack on Scinde, perhaps due to the wish to wipe out the disgrace of the Afghan War, was apparently unjustified. Napier called it "a very useful and humane piece of rascality."

C The Sikh Wars, 1845-9.

(1) The First Sikh War, 1845-6.

1839. The death of Runjeet Singh, the "lion of the Punjab," the ally of Britain.

1845. Invasion of British India by the Sikh army of the Khasla,¹ distinguished by its religious enthusiasm and military skill.

1845. The Sikhs defeated at Moodkee December 18, Ferozeshah December 21, by Sir H. Gough,

1846. at Aliwal, January 28, by Sir Harry Smith, and Sobraon, by Sir Hugh Gough, February 10. Capture of Lahore.

Runjeet Singh's widow made regent for her son, Dhuleep Singh. Sir Henry Lawrence appointed British Resident at Lahore. The Doab, the land between the Sutlej and Beas, surrendered by the Sikhs.

¹ The v. on--

(2) The Second Sikh War.

April, 1848. Murder of Vans Agnew, a civil servant, and Lieutenant Anderson, by Moolraj at Mooltan. Gallant resistance of Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes with four hundred men to Moolraj. Capture of Mooltan and submission of Moolraj.

January 13, 1849. Sir Hugh Gough, who had been very slow in his operations, fought the drawn battle of Chillianwallah, in which the British lost heavily. Gough was superseded by Sir Charles Napier, but, before the latter arrived, annihilated the Sikhs at Gujarat (February 20). A brilliant victory, due largely to Gough's skilful use of his artillery.

March 12. The Afghans surrendered at Rawul Pindi.

March 29. Annexation of the whole of the Punjab. The North-West Frontier strengthened. The Maharajah of Lahore gave up the Koh-i-noor.

The administration of the Punjab was entrusted to Henry and John Lawrence, who disarmed most of the Sikhs (although a number were enrolled in the British army); made bridges, canals, and roads; administered justice; facilitated the cultivation of wheat by their irrigation schemes; made an equitable land settlement and reduced taxes. Their brilliant administration ensured the fidelity of the Sikhs during the Mutiny.

II. The Marquis of Dalhousie, Governor-General, 1847-56.

“The Second Founder” of the British Empire in India. Succeeded in extending and consolidating British territory. He recognised that the good of the governed is the object of government, but lacked imagination to foresee how changes, made in their own interests, might strike the natives.

He was a man of practical ability, and used the experience gained as President of the Board of Trade (1845-6) in carrying out important internal reforms.

A. Extension of territory.

(1) Lapse and adoption.

(a) Among the Hindoos adopted sons succeeded to property and the practice of adoption was general.

(b) Dalhousie, anxious to extend British sovereignty, maintained that on the death of a ruling prince without direct descendants his dominions lapsed to Great Britain. Adopted sons could succeed to private property, but not to territory or position.

1849, Sattara, and 1853, Jhansi, "lapsed" to Great Britain on the death of their rulers. Adopted heirs excluded from the succession.

1853. On the death of the Peishwa his pension was withheld from his adopted son, Nana Sahib.

1854. Nagpore lapsed to Great Britain without question in the absence of heirs adopted or direct.

(2) The annexation of Oudh.

The Nawab of Oudh, relying upon British protection, proved a cruel and corrupt ruler. For the sake of the subject people, Dalhousie, after several warnings, deposed the Nawab.

February, 1856. Oudh annexed and subsequently incorporated in the North-West Provinces.

(3) Second Burmese War, 1852.

Dalhousie sent an expedition to Burma to avenge the ill-treatment of some British subjects by the King.

The Irrawaddy was blockaded and Rangoon captured (April 12) after a well-conducted campaign.

December 20, 1852. Lower Burma annexed.

(4) As the result of the policy of Dalhousie and his immediate predecessors British India, which previously had largely consisted of seacoast and adjacent territory, became more continuous, included much of the interior and approached nearer to spheres of Russian influence in the north-west and Chinese in the east.

B. Dalhousie's internal reforms.

(1) Public Works.

He organised a Public Works Department; made roads and railways; extended the telegraph and promoted irrigation.

(2) Public safety.

He put down dacoity.

(3) Taxes. He tried to lighten taxes, especially port dues.

He threw the Civil Service open to competition and improved education.

(4) General.

The result of his internal policy was that trade rapidly increased and the government was greatly improved. But his rapid innovations alarmed the natives, and he failed "to allow for the conservatism of Oriental races."

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THE CRIMEAN WAR

The Causes.

A. Napoleon III.

(1) Napoleon wished to strengthen his parvenu Empire and strongly resented the attitude of Nicholas I, who addressed him as *cher ami* instead of *cher frère*—the usual form of salutation between sovereigns. He was therefore quite ready to fight Russia, as victory would strengthen his position in France and gratify his personal feelings.

(2) In order to conciliate the Catholics and the Pope Napoleon claimed the custody of the holy places in Jerusalem, which, though ceded to France in 1740, had passed to the Greeks.

B. Nicholas I.

(1) A man of strong religious feeling and the champion of the Greek Church.

(a) He asserted the rights of the Greeks to the custody of the holy places.

(b) He claimed the right of protecting the orthodox Greek subjects of the Sultan.

a. But the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji, 1774, on which this claim was based, provided only that Russia "may make on all occasions representations in favour of the new church in Constantinople."

β . The recognition of his claim would have broken up the Turkish Empire by giving the orthodox Greeks the right of appeal to a strong external power.

(2) Nicholas I and Napoleon III.

He strongly opposed Napoleon's new Empire, the outcome of revolution which he hated, and refused to recognise him as Napoleon III, believing that such recognition might imply the repudiation of the treaties of 1815.

(3) Nicholas I and England.

(a) His former friendship with England had been weakened by Palmerston's hatred of Russia, by English resentment at Russian interference in Hungary, 1848, and by the blockade of the Piræus without notice to the Powers (page 806)

(b) There was a strong belief in England that the further extension of Russian power might threaten the supremacy of Great Britain in India. "If we do not stop the Russians on the Danube, we shall have to stop them on the Indus" (Lord John Russell).

(4) Nicholas I and Turkey.

(a) He believed that the Turkish Empire would soon break up and wanted to secure control of Constantinople and the Dardanelles.

(b) He thought Great Britain was anxious for peace and would be willing to make terms for the partition of Turkey, receiving Egypt and Candia.

1844 While visiting England he sounded Aberdeen, but no memorandum was signed on the subject, as has sometimes been stated.

January, 1853. In a private conversation with Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, he said: "We have on our hands a sick man, a very sick man; and it will be a great misfortune if he should slip away from us before the necessary arrangements have been made."

- a. Great Britain strongly resented the partition of Turkey;
- β. Aberdeen, however, failed to repudiate strongly the Czar's suggestions, and Nicholas therefore at first thought that he could reckon on the support of Great Britain for a scheme of partition.

C. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe,¹ "The Great Eltchi."²

1842. Appointment of Stratford Canning as Ambassador to Constantinople.

¹ Stratford Canning, created Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, 1852.

² i.e. the great ambassador.

- (1) He obtained remarkable influence over the Sultan and was nicknamed the "Padishah of the Shah."
- (2) He never forgave the Czar for refusing to accept him as Ambassador to Russia in 1832. He was very hostile to Russia, urged the Sultan to "strike off the fetters of Kainardji and Adrianople." His influence was an important cause of the war.

II. The Course of Events to the declaration of War by England and France.

A. Menschikoff's mission, 1853.

- (1) Prince Menschikoff, a rough soldier, proved an incompetent ambassador and was outwitted by Stratford de Redcliffe. He formally demanded—
 - a. The recognition of the right of Russia to protect the orthodox Greek subjects of Turkey ;
 - β. The recognition of the claims of the Greek Church to the guardianship of the holy places.
- (2) The latter was granted, but the former was refused as incompatible with the full authority of the Sultan over his own subjects.

B. The invasion of the Principalities, June 22, 1853.

- (1) On the refusal of Menschikoff's first demand the Russians under Gortchakoff occupied Moldavia and Wallachia. The Czar asserted that he had no desire for war, but wished to obtain security for the recognition of the rights of Russia.
- (2) Turkey, largely on the advice of Great Britain, which was most anxious to avert a war, offered no armed resistance, although she would have been justified in regarding the occupation as a *casus belli*.
- (3) The occupation, which seriously interfered with freedom of navigation on the Danube, alarmed Austria, who massed her troops on the Servian border. The action of Austria alarmed Prussia, which feared the extension of Austrian power.

C. The Vienna Note.

- (1) The Vienna Note, drawn up by the powers, confirmed the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji and asserted the need of maintaining the rights and privileges of the Greek Christians who were subject to the Sultan.
- (2) The Czar at first accepted the Note.
- (3) The Sultan, enraged at the occupation of the Principalities and relying on the aid of France, refused to recognise the Czar's right to protect the Greek Christians in Turkey, and proposed an emendation which would have guaranteed his own authority over his Greek subjects.
- (4) The Czar, in spite of strong pressure from Austria and Prussia, refused to accept emendations to a Note drawn up by the powers and accepted by himself.

D. October 5, 1853. Turkey declared war against Russia.

E. The allied fleets passed the Dardanelles.

- (1) October 22, 1853. Largely owing to the influence of Napoleon III the French and British fleets passed the Dardanelles. This was practically a declaration of war.
- (2) The nominal object was to protect the Sultan against a Mohammedan rising; the real aim to ensure the integrity of the Turkish Empire.
- (3) The passage of the Dardanelles naturally led the Turks to think that Great Britain and France were ready for war and would support them whenever necessary.
- (4) Austria and Prussia were little concerned with the question of the Dardanelles and took no part in this movement.

F. The "Massacre" of Sinope.

- (1) November 30, 1853. A Turkish squadron at Sinope destroyed with great loss by Russian fleet. "Thank God, that's war" (Stratford de Redcliffe).
- (2) This "massacre" strengthened the growing war party in England and led the *Times* to join it. Aberdeen, a man of singular nobility of character, did his utmost to ensure peace, but was strongly opposed by Russell, Palmerston, and others of his Cabinet. His policy, therefore, was feeble, and Britain was "drifting towards war" (Clarendon).
- (3) The "massacre" was misnamed.
 - a. Russia and Turkey had been at war since October 5, and Russia was perfectly justified in attacking her enemy's fleet.
 - β. The Turks had declared war and had taken the first steps in the military operations on land.

G. The allied fleets entered the Black Sea January 3, 1854—

- a. To prevent a repetition of the massacre of Sinope;
- β. To counterbalance the advantage afforded to Russia by the occupation of the Principalities;
- γ. This act finally committed the allies to the Turkish side and was mainly due to Napoleon III.

H. March 27, 1854. Great Britain and France (which had made a treaty of alliance with Turkey March 12) declared war against Russia.

At the moment when the Cabinet formally decided on war several of the ministers present were asleep. But their slumber did not prejudice the question, as the final decision had already been made.

III. War and Diplomacy.

A. August, 1854. Evacuation of the Principalities by the Russians, who had failed in June to capture Silistria, gallantly defended by Butler and Nasmyth. The Principalities occupied by Austria to protect the navigation of the Danube. This led to a difference of opinion between Austria and Prussia (who had secured their great object) and the allies who desired further to weaken Russian power in the East. Further, Frederick William IV objected to an alliance with Napoleon III and with the infidel Turks, and Bismarck urged him to take no active part in the war, but to concentrate his troops in Silesia as a check to the growing power of Austria. Austria seemed at one time willing to join the allies, but finally decided not to join, fearing that Prussia might use the opportunity to weaken the power of Austria in Central Europe. But Austria concluded a defensive alliance with Great Britain and France against Russia December 2, 1854.

B. August, 1854. Joint British and French expedition to the Baltic under Sir Charles Napier. Capture of Bomarsund (August 16), but Cronstadt, though reconnoitred, was not attacked. Dissatisfaction in England at the inadequate results of the expedition.

C. The Crimean War.

The term "Crimean War" is not strictly correct. War had been going on for six months before the Crimea was invaded, and important operations also took place in the Baltic Sea.

The invasion of the Crimea—the suggestion of which has been variously ascribed to Napoleon III, Newcastle, Palmerston, and the *Times*—has been adversely criticised. But it was necessary to prevent the Russian ships from taking refuge in Sebastopol; the allies, whose base was the sea, had a great

advantage over the Russians, who had much difficulty in transporting supplies over the vast steppes; the attack on Sebastopol drained the resources of Russia and would probably have been successful if an attack had been made immediately after the battle of the Alma, but rapid action was rendered difficult owing to the divided command and to the lack of adequate means of transport of supplies on land.

September 14, 1854. The allied troops, under Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud, landed in the Crimea.

September 20, 1854. Menschikoff's defeat at the Alma. Todleben fortified Sebastopol strongly.

October 25, 1854. Balaclava. The Light Brigade¹ charged the Russian army in position and lost two-thirds of its men in twenty minutes. "It is magnificent, but it is not war" (Bosquet).

November 5, 1854. Inkermann. "The soldiers' battle." A series of hand-to-hand encounters.

November 14, 1854. A great storm wrecked British transports and caused enormous loss of stores, clothes, and hay. Great suffering of the troops owing to lack of stores.

January 23, 1855. Roebuck's motion for a select committee to inquire into "the condition of our army before Sebastopol." Resignation of Lord John Russell January 24. The motion carried. Resignation of Aberdeen's ministry February 1, 1855.

February 17, 1855. The Turks defeated the Russians at Eupatoria.

March 2, 1855. Death of the Czar Nicholas I owing to the cold of the winter, anxiety about the war, and chagrin at the defeat at Eupatoria.²

¹ Out of 670 men who joined in the charge, 198 answered the roll-call after the retreat. 113 were killed, and 134 wounded.

² *Punch*'s famous cartoon, "General Février turned traitor," referred to Nicholas' statement that Generals Janvier and Février would fight on his

D. The Congress at Vienna, March, 1855.

Russia, although willing to give up her protectorate over the Principalities and to allow the free navigation of the Danube, refused to agree to the neutrality of the Black Sea. Austria, anxious to end the war owing to the growing danger of a Sardinian attack on Lombardy, suggested a compromise, and on the failure of her suggestion became neutral.

a. Consequent isolation of Austria.

β . Lord John Russell, the British representative, had accepted the Austrian suggestions in Vienna, but afterwards denounced them in the House of Commons (page 885).

January, 1855. Sardinia and Sweden joined the allies. Cavour sent 15,000 Sardinian troops. Generals Canrobert (resigned May 16) and Lord Raglan (died June 28) succeeded by Péliſſier and Simpson.

August 16, 1855. The French and the Sardinians repulsed at the Tchernaya an attempt of the Russians to raise the siege.

September 8, 1855. French capture the Malakoff. English captured but failed to hold the Redan.

September 9, 1855. The Russians evacuated Sebastopol after destroying all the chief buildings.

November 26, 1855. The Russians captured Kars after a gallant defence by General Fenwick Williams.

E. Criticism of the war.

(1) Operations were sometimes hampered owing to the necessity of consulting the allies.

a. Lord Raglan wished to attack Sebastopol immediately after the battle of the Alma, but St. Arnaud and Canrobert (who succeeded him September 29, 1854) refused to agree, as the siege guns had not been landed. The French

generals were supported by Sir John Burgoynes, who commanded the Engineers.

β. The first bombardment of Sebastopol failed partly because Canrobert refused to sanction an assault at the critical moment owing to the loss of life it would entail.

γ. "What benumbed the Allies was the Alliance."

(2) The commanders-in-chief were not competent for their work.

a. Lord Raglan, a man of great bravery and infinite patience, lacked resource, and was weak in strategy, although his failure was due partly to the mismanagement of the Government and lack of co-operation from his French colleagues. General Simpson's ill-health impaired his efficiency.

β. Their difficulties were aggravated by differences between some of the officers, especially between Lord Lucan, who commanded the cavalry, and his brother-in-law, Lord Cardigan.

γ. Of the French leaders, St. Arnaud was little more than a brave adventurer; Canrobert's irresolution gained for him the nickname of "Bob Can't," from the British; Péliissier was a competent soldier and, unlike his predecessors, neglected the unwise instructions with which Napoleon hampered his generals.

(3) There was gross mismanagement.

It was expected that the war would soon be completed, and no adequate provision was made for a winter campaign.

a. Until Florence Nightingale went out the over-crowded hospitals were scandalously dis-organised.

- β. There was a great lack of tents, warm clothing and boots, and the loss of the stores in the storm of November 14 was a great disaster.
- γ. The horses died owing to cold and the loss of hay in the storm of November 14, 1854, and the men had to transport goods themselves over abominably bad roads.
- δ. Popular indignation was roused by the reports of William Russell, the representative of the *Times*, the first modern war correspondent.

(4) The British soldiers.

The soldiers fought with the utmost bravery, won all the battles in spite of the inability of their generals, and endured severe privations with great heroism. The conduct of the troops was excellent. It was a soldiers' war.

IV. The Treaty of Paris.

March 30, 1856. The war was concluded by the powers (including Sardinia).

A. The treaty provided—

(1) That the Black Sea should be neutral.

But Bismarck agreed to the abolition of this clause in recognition of the neutrality of Russia during the Franco-Prussian War.

(2) That the navigation of the Danube was to be free.

Thus Austria secured what she wanted, but Austria's policy had led to her isolation, and of this Sardinia took advantage in 1859 (page 850).

(3) That Turkey, the integrity of which was guaranteed by Great Britain, France, and Austria, should be admitted to the Concert of Europe.

Thus Great Britain apparently secured a check on the power of Russia, and afterwards took a less active share in European questions. But—

- a. The integrity of Turkey was broken by the union of Moldavia and Wallachia into Roumania, December, 1861, and by the appointment of Prince Charles of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen as hereditary Prince of Roumania in 1866;
- β. Russia turned her attention to Asia, and serious difficulties arose between Great Britain and Russia on the North-West frontier of India (page 955).

(4) The Christians of Turkey were left to the mercy of the Sultan, who promised them better treatment.

This promise was broken, e.g. the Bulgarian atrocities, 1876, the Armenian massacres, 1894.

B. The Congress of Paris also—

(1) Regulated maritime war, and finally settled the dispute of 1812 (page 696).

α. Privateering was abolished.

β. Neutral ships to make neutral cargoes, except in the case of contraband of war.

γ. Blockades to be respected must be effective.

(2) England and France guaranteed Norway and Sweden against Russian aggression.

C. General.

(1) Apparently Great Britain had gained her objects practically Russia lost little, and most of the provisions of the Treaty of Paris proved only temporary.

(2) Russia escaped easily, partly because Napoleon III, without the knowledge of England, effected a reconciliation with Russia before the Treaty of Paris.

(3) The Crimean War, which cost England over 25,000 men and £76,000,000, was a great mistake. But it was, especially at the end, a popular war, and the whole nation shared the blame.

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THE INDIAN MUTINY

I. Causes.

A. Political.

(1) Dalhousie's annexations had alarmed the people, many of whom preferred native rule, however cruel and corrupt, to British.

(2) Some princes who had suffered from Dalhousie's policy, notably the sons of the King of Oudh, the Ranees of Jhansi, and Nana Sahib (page 816), took an active part. But Scindia, the Nizam, Holkar, and the Punjab princes remained faithful.

(3) The talukdars or tax-collectors of Oudh were dissatisfied because their interests had suffered in the recent land settlement.

B. Military.

The Bengal army, containing a large proportion of Brahmins, was disaffected.

(1) Brahmin soldiers obeyed with reluctance native officers of lower caste.

(2) 1856. Canning ordered Sepoys to serve across the sea if necessary, although this involved loss of caste for the Brahmin.

- (3) There was considerable jealousy of the lately enrolled Sikhs.
- (4) The disasters of the Afghan (1841-2) and Crimean (1854-5) wars had lowered British prestige, and the Sepoys thought that the use of British soldiers in the Persian and Chinese wars would diminish the number of European troops in India and weaken resistance.
The Sikhs, and the Madras and Bombay armies remained faithful.
- (5) There were not enough British officers, and many officers were ignorant of the Hindustani language and treated the Sepoys with contempt.

C. Religious.

It was believed that the British Government wished to force Christianity upon the people of India.

- (1) The abolition of native customs, the limitation of cruel religious rites (e.g. thuggee and suttee), had aroused opposition, and many natives thought the extension of railways and telegraphs inconsistent with their religious principles.
- (2) Some British officers had tried to convert their men to Christianity.
- (3) The Sepoys learned from workmen that the cartridges for the new Enfield rifles were greased with a mixture of the fat of the cow (a sacred animal of the Hindoos) and of the pig (unclean to the Mohammedans). The authorities, incorrectly but in good faith, denied that the mixture was so composed. The Sepoys thought that the authorities were trying by deliberate falsehood to hide their attempt to break caste and to compel the acceptance of Christianity by Hindoos and Moh mm. 101 -

(4) Some believed that ground human bones had been mixed with the flour supplied to the army.

The Sepoys were terror-stricken, and this partly accounts for their excesses.

D. There was a belief that the British rule would last only a hundred years after the battle of Plassey.

II. The Progress of the Mutiny.

"The rising was a mutiny, not a rebellion. There was no national movement" (Mowat).

The Mutiny was limited to Bengal, the Central Provinces, Oudh, Rohilkund. The lack of union among the rebels, the fidelity of the Sikhs, the Madras army, and the Goorkhas prevented its further spread. Its operations were mainly of two kinds—

- a. Sieges and operations connected therewith;
- β. Guerrilla warfare, especially in Oudh and the Central Provinces.

A. The outbreak.

Meerut.

May 10, 1857. Outbreak of the Mutiny owing to the imprisonment of eighty-five Sepoys for refusing to use greased cartridges. Murder of Europeans. Flight of the mutineers without opposition to Delhi.

The failure to oppose the departing soldiers was a grave error. Successful resistance would have checked the extension of the Mutiny.

May 12, 1857. The Punjab saved by the disarming of the Sepoys at Meean Meer.

B. The spread of the Mutiny.

(1) Delhi.

May 11, 1857. Mutiny at Delhi on the arrival of the Sepoys from Meerut. Proclamation of the King of Delhi, descended from the Great Mogul, as Emperor of India.

Thus the Mutiny now became a national rising.

(2) Lucknow.

May 30, 1857. Mutiny at Lucknow. Sir Henry Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of Oudh, fortified the Residency, which held out heroically for **eighty-seven** days.

July 2, 1857. Death of Sir Henry Lawrence.

(3) Cawnpore.

June 4, 1857. Mutiny at Cawnpore under Nana Sahib. Surrender of the British after a three weeks' siege on promise of a safe conduct to Allahabad. Murder of the men, including General Sir Hugh Wheeler. Brutal murder of the women and children after a fortnight's imprisonment on the news of an impending attack. Their bodies thrown into a well. Out of a total of 1000 people only four escaped.

C. The Mutiny checked.

(1) The first capture of Cawnpore.

General Henry Havelock, commanding "Havelock's saints," in nine days fought four battles and marched 126 miles.

July 16, 1857. Havelock routed Nana Sahib and captured Cawnpore (afterwards recaptured by the mutineers).

(2) The capture of Delhi.

The British besieging force under Sir H. Barnard was itself besieged on the ridge outside Delhi. Death of Barnard. Sir John Lawrence sent Sikh reinforcements under Brigadier-General John Nicholson, who compelled Barnard's successor, Archdale Wilson, to attack the city against his own judgment.

September 14, 1857. The Cashmere Gate blown up.

September 20, 1857. The capture of Delhi completed after desperate street fighting in which Nicholson

was killed. Surrender of the King of Oudh. His two sons shot in cold blood, without any trial, by Hodson.

(3) The Relief of Lucknow.¹

September 25, 1857. Havelock and Outram entered Lucknow, but were themselves besieged in the Residency.

November 17, 1857. Lucknow relieved by Sir Colin Campbell. Valuable service rendered by the Naval Brigade under Captain W. Peel.

November 23, 1857. The garrison safely withdrawn from Lucknow, which the rebels continued to hold.

November 24, 1857. Death of Havelock at Alum-bagh.

(4) Final capture of Cawnpore.

December 6, 1857. Campbell defeated the Gwalior Sepoys under Nana Sahib and captured Cawnpore.

(5) Final capture of Lucknow.

March 19, 1858. Lucknow captured by Sir Colin Campbell aided by Sikhs and Goorkhas. But Campbell neglected to follow up the defeated enemy, and owing to this omission the war in Oudh was prolonged. Guerilla warfare continued for some time in Oudh under Nana Sahib, who after his final defeat escaped—possibly to Nepal.

(6) The Central Provinces. May and June, 1858.

Sir Hugh Rose routed the Rance of Jhansi, June 17, and captured Gwalior, June 19, 1858. Tantia Topee, Nana Sahib's minister, fought gallantly, but was captured and hanged for his share in the massacre of Cawnpore.

1. Lord Canning,² Governor-General, 1856-8, Viceroy, 1858-62.

¹ At Lucknow Lieutenant (now Earl) Roberts gained the Victoria Cross.

² Charles John Canning, created Earl Canning 1859.

- (1) His prompt measures checked the Mutiny.
 - a. He asserted Government control over the native press. .
 - β. He gave plenary powers to executive officers.
 - γ. He induced Lord Elgin to allow troops on the way to China to serve against the mutineers.
"Yeh may wait, but Bengal cannot wait."
- (2) He severely punished those who had taken part in the Mutiny, but resisted the cry for indiscriminate revenge. "I will not govern in anger." Hence his famous nickname "Clemency Canning."
- (3) The Oudh Proclamation.

March 20, 1858. Canning, wishing to strengthen British supremacy in Oudh, one of the chief centres of the Mutiny, issued a proclamation which vested in the British Government the ownership of all the land except the estates of six loyal talukdars. This measure of confiscation was opposed by Outram, the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, in deference to whose opinion Canning announced that the natives who helped to restore order would be allowed to keep their land. Most of the landholders soon submitted.

The proclamation was a mistake. It was adversely criticised in England, especially by Lord Ellenborough, and was not strictly enforced in India.

IV. Results of the Mutiny.

A. The abolition of the East India Company.

August, 1858. The Derby ministry passed the Government of India Act.

- (1) The Crown assumed the powers and dominions of the Company.

- (2) The affairs of India to be managed by a Secretary of State for India assisted by a council of fifteen (later reduced to twelve) people "experienced in Indian affairs."
- (3) The Viceroy (representing the Queen) to act under the instructions of the Secretary of State and to be assisted in India by an Executive and a Legislative Council.
 - a. Grave practical difficulties had arisen owing to differences of opinion between the India House and the India Board, and "John Company" was abolished in deference to strong public opinion and not, as J. S. Mill suggested, solely owing to Lord Palmerston's influence.
 - b. Mill's fears that Parliament would unduly interfere in the government of India and that the Viceroyalty would be "scrambled for by the second and third class of English parliamentary politicians" have not been fulfilled.

November, 1858. The Queen proclaimed sovereign of India, and promises of religious toleration, equal justice, and an amnesty to all except murderers completed the pacification of India.

1877. The Queen proclaimed Empress of India.

- B. The Mutiny showed that British character had not deteriorated, and its suppression tended to restore the prestige Great Britain had lost in the Crimean War.
- C. The Mutiny was confined to the Ganges Valley and hardly affected Lower Bengal. The majority of the native princes, and of the people, the Madras and Bombay armies, and the Sikhs remained faithful, and their help proved invaluable. The Mutiny was really crushed by the good government which ensured the fidelity of the native.

References : .

- A. *A History of Our Own Times*, chaps. xxxi.-xxxvi.
Life of Lord Granville, by Fitzmaurice, Vol. I, chaps. x and xi.
Forty-one Years in India, by Lord Roberts, Vol. I.
- B. *The Defence of Lucknow*, by Tennyson.
- C. *On the Face of the Waters*, by Steel. (Heinemann.)
Eight Days, by Forrest.
The Peril of the Sword, by Harcourt. (Skeffington.)

DOMESTIC HISTORY, 1846-59

The Crimean War (1854), the Indian Mutiny (1857), wars in South Africa (1850), Burma (1852), China (1857-8), colonial development in Africa and Australia, and problems arising out of Continental politics distracted attention from domestic history in this period.

I. The First Russell Ministry, July, 1846-February, 1852.

The last Whig Government. Prime Minister, Lord John Russell; Foreign Secretary, Palmerston (to December, 1851), then Earl Granville.

A. The Factory Act, 1847.

B. The end of Chartism, 1848.

- (1) Revival of Chartism, owing to the success of the French Revolution (page 803), under the leadership of Feargus O'Connor, editor of the *Northern Star* and M.P. for Nottingham, who unsuccessfully tried to make a Chartist settlement upon land acquired by the National Land Company, which he founded.
- (2) O'Connor arranged for a meeting on April 10 of half a million Chartists on Kennington Common, whence they were to march to Parliament to present a petition

said to contain five million signatures in favour of Chartism.

- (3) This proposed attempt to overawe Parliament by physical force was proclaimed illegal by the Home Secretary, Sir George Grey.¹ A force of 170,000 special constables (including Prince Louis Napoleon) enrolled. London occupied by a military force under the Duke of Wellington.
- (4) Only 30,000 attended the meeting ; the police did not allow them to cross Westminster Bridge ; the petition was taken to Parliament in cabs, and when examined by a Select Committee was found to contain less than 2,000,000 signatures, many of which, including those of the Queen, Prince Consort, and Duke of Wellington, were obviously forged.
- (5) Chartism was laughed out of existence, and its failure without disturbance was a striking testimony to the political stability of England. But many of its objects were secured by other agencies. Material suffering was alleviated by the better administration of the Poor Laws, by the cheapness of food resulting from the Repeal of the Corn Laws, by the growth of trade, by the Factory Acts, and the improvement of sanitation. Of the "Six Points," votes by ballot, the abolition of property qualifications for M.P.'s have been secured, the suffrage has been widely extended, and the payment of members seems probable.

Chartism "died of publicity, of growing education, of a growing sense of duty among the more influential classes."

C. The Public Health Act, 1848.

D. The Great Exhibition, 1851.

Due largely to the Prince Consort, who acted as chairman of the commissioners. Its object was "to give the world a picture of the point of industrial develop-

¹ No relation to the colonial governor of the same name

ment at which the whole of mankind has arrived and a new starting point for further exertions," and its exhibits included raw materials, machinery, manufactured articles, sculpture, and models. The scheme was ridiculed by *Punch* and opposed through fear of riots and of danger from Continental anarchists and through objection to the use of Hyde Park. The Exhibition proved a "great triumph of peace." Six million people entered the building of glass and iron, designed by Joseph Paxton. The expenses were entirely met by public subscription and the profits devoted to the foundation of the South Kensington Museum.

E. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, 1851.

- (1) September, 1850. Pope Pius IX, perhaps induced by the Tractarian movement (page 1029) to anticipate the reconciliation of England with the Roman Catholic Church, issued a bull decreeing "the re-establishment in the kingdom of England of a hierarchy of bishops deriving their titles from their own sees."

Cardinal Wiseman, Archbishop Designate of Westminster, added to the popular indignation caused by the bull by writing, in a pastoral letter, "given out of the Flaminian Gate at Rome," of the impending extension of Papal rule over England.

- (2) October 4, 1850. In his "Durham Letter," written to Bishop Malthy of Durham, Lord John Russell, "a fiery Protestant," attacked the "late aggressions of the Papacy on our Protestantism," denounced the Tractarians as "unworthy sons of the Church of England," and called their ceremonies "mummuries of superstition."
- (3) 1851. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill passed to prevent Roman Catholic bishops from assuming ecclesiastical titles. The Bill soon became a dead letter and was repealed 1871.

(4) The accuracy of Palmerston's verdict is now generally acknowledged. "The thing in truth is little or nothing and does not justify the irritation."

F. The Militia Bill.

Owing to suspicion of the designs of the Emperor Napoleon, Lord John Russell introduced a Bill to revive the disorganised militia as a local force. Palmerston's amendment to substitute "regular" for "local" emphasised the need of making the militia a national force available as an army reserve. The amendment carried. Palmerston's "tit-for-tat with John Russell."

February 21, 1852. Resignation of the First Russell ministry.

References :

A. *A History of Our Own Times*, chaps. xviii., xx., xxI.
Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, by Hodder. (Cassell.)
 Vol. II, chaps. xv. and xix.

II. The First Derby Ministry, February, 1852-December, 1852.

Prime Minister, the Earl of Derby; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Benjamin Disraeli.

Lord Derby, "the Rupert of debate," had carried the Bill for the Abolition of Slavery, but had left the Whigs in 1834 owing to his objection to the application of the revenues of the Irish Church to secular uses. He opposed the Repeal of the Corn Laws and became the leader of the Protectionists. Prime Minister, 1852, 1858-9, 1866-8. His Second Ministry carried the Reform Bill of 1867. He was a classical scholar (the Derby scholarship at Oxford was founded in his honour) and a great patron of the turf. He organised the movement for the relief of the Cotton Famins in Lancashire, 1862.

His first ministry, composed largely of men who had not held office before, was nicknamed the "Who-who" ministry, because when Derby was naming its members to the Duke of Wellington, the Duke, who was deaf, repeatedly asked "Who? who?"

A. The Militia Bill—

July, 1852. Provided that a national force of 80,000 men should be raised by voluntary enlistment. The ballot reserved for emergencies.

[September 14, 1852. Death of the Duke of Wellington.]

B. Free Trade accepted.

November, 1852. Passage by a large majority of Palmerston's resolutions (accepted by Disraeli) that Free Trade had improved the condition of the country and that this policy "should be firmly maintained and prudently extended."

C. December, 1852. Introduction of Disraeli's Budget.

- (1) The duty on tea lowered. This relieved the general consumer.
- (2) The malt tax to be halved. This relieved the brewers.
- (3) To make up the loss of revenue the house tax was doubled.

December 18. The Budget defeated largely owing to the opposition of Gladstone, who strongly objected to the increased house duty, declared that Disraeli had "juggled with taxation," and protested against his bitter attacks on his opponents. The beginning of the long parliamentary duel between Disraeli and Gladstone.

References:

- A. *A History of Modern England*, by Paul, Vol. I, chap. xv. (Macmillan.)
- B. *A History of Modern England*, by Paul, Vol. I, p. 205 (Macmillan.)

III. The Aberdeen Ministry, December, 1852-January, 1855.

Prime Minister, the Earl of Aberdeen; Chancellor of the Exchequer, W. E. Gladstone; *Foreign Secretary*, Lord John Russell¹ (to February, 1853) and then the Earl of Clarendon; Secretary for War and Colonies,² the Duke of Newcastle; Secretary at War, Sidney Herbert.

A Coalition Ministry of Whigs and Peelites, now united for the first time. "England does not love coalitions." "A ministry without principles and without party" (Disraeli), which "suffered from excess of individual ability."

Lord Aberdeen had supported Roman Catholic Emancipation and opposed the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. He disapproved of the extension of British territory in South Africa. In foreign politics he "took the Treaty of Vienna as his diplomatic bible." He distrusted Napoleon III, strongly opposed Palmerston's assertive policy, and strove hard to avert the Crimean War. His undue deference to Lord John Russell, "the stormy petrel of the ministry," and his inability to control Palmerston, weakened his ministry. His public life was marked by love of justice and unselfishness. His private character was upright, simple, and dignified. He was a man of great learning and exquisite taste in art.

A. Gladstone's first Budget introduced April 18, 1853.

(I) Reduction of taxation.

Abolition of duty on soap; reduction of duty on tea, on about 250 other articles, and on life assurance and advertisements.

¹ Russell resigned the Foreign Secretaryship, 1853, remained in the Cabinet without office until June, 1854, when he became Lord President of the Council.

² These offices were separated in 1854, Newcastle becoming Secretary for War, and the less important office of Secretary at War was merged in that of Secretary for War.

(2) Income tax.

The income tax to be gradually reduced, and to be abolished by 1860.

(3) Succession duties.

Land and houses, hitherto exempted owing to the influence of the landed gentry, made liable to the same legacy duty as personal property.

Although the Succession Duty gained for Gladstone the animosity of the land-owning class and realised less than was expected, and although it was found impossible to abolish the income tax, this Budget, which helped the country to bear the expense of the Crimean War, was a great achievement, and the speech with which Gladstone introduced it was magnificent.

February 1, 1855. Resignation of the ministry owing to its defeat on Roebuck's motion for an inquiry into the management of the Crimean War.

References :

A. *The Earl of Aberdeen*, by Lord Stanmore, chaps. viii. and xl. (Sampson Low.)
Morley's Life of Gladstone, Book IV, chap. ii.

IV. First Palmerston Ministry, February, 1855—February, 1858.

Derby refused to take office as he was in a minority and would not attempt to form an administration without the help of Palmerston or the Peelites. Lord John Russell's former colleagues showed their resentment at his conduct (page 884, C.) by absolutely refusing to take office under him, and Palmerston became "the inevitable" Prime Minister.

Prime Minister, Viscount Palmerston; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gladstone (in February, 1855), and then Sir G. Cornwall Lewis; Secretary for War, Lord Panmure; Foreign Secretary, the Earl of Clarendon.

1856. The Treaty of Paris ended the Crimean War (page 827).

1857. Indian Mutiny (page 829).

1856-8. The lorch *Arrow* and the Second Chinese War (page 853).

A The Conspiracy to Murder Bill, 1858.

(1) January 14, 1858. Three bombs thrown at the Emperor Napoleon by Orsini, an Italian who thought that Napoleon was preventing the union of Italy, killed ten and wounded one hundred and fifty-six people outside the Opera House in Paris.

(2) Orsini had been well received in England and the bombs had been made in Birmingham.

a. Walewski, the Foreign Minister of Napoleon, protested against the asylum given in England to foreign anarchists. "Is hospitality due to assassins?"

β . Publication in the *Moniteur*, the official French journal, of wild letters from some French colonels advocating an attack on London, "the infamous haunt in which machinations so infernal were hatched."

(3) February 19, 1858. Defeat of Palmerston's Bill, which provided that conspiracy to murder should be punished as a felony and not as a misdemeanour, as previously.

a. The Bill was a reasonable attempt to limit the abuse of asylum in England by foreign anarchists.

β . But it was popularly regarded as a cowardly concession to French dictation owing to its hasty introduction and to Palmerston's well-known partiality for the Emperor Napoleon.

Reference :

A. *A History of Our Own Times*, chap. xxxvii.

V. The Second Derby Ministry, February, 1858-June, 1859.

Prime Minister, the Earl of Derby; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Disraeli. "This ministry was sustained by the discordance of the Liberal party."

A. August, 1858. The Government of India Bill (page 834).

B. 1858. Jewish relief.

Members of Parliament took the oath "on the true faith of a Christian," and thus Jews were excluded from Parliament. Several attempts to relieve them of this disability had been frustrated by the opposition of the Tory Lords, especially of extreme Conservatives and High Churchmen.

1847. Baron Rothschild elected M.P. for London.

1851. David Salomons elected for Greenwich, entered the House of Commons, was removed by the Sergeant-at-Arms. The Court of Exchequer decided that membership of Parliament involved the taking of the oath.

1858. The Lords again rejected a Relief Bill, but it was finally agreed that each House could adopt any form of oath for Jews it pleased.

July 26, 1858. Baron Rothschild took the oath as amended by the Commons and entered the House as M.P. for London.

C. Abolition of property qualification for members of Parliament.

D. Parliamentary reform.

(1) February, 1859. Disraeli's Reform Bill—

a. Extended the franchise to graduates, professional men, men having £10 in consols or £60 in a savings bank.

β . The £10 household franchise extended to counties.

γ . Forty shilling borough freeholders to lose their county votes.

(2) April 1, 1859. Rejection of the Bill.

Although John Bright had aroused some interest in the north for reform the time was unfavourable, and there was no special demand for reform. The Bill aroused much opposition.

α . Bright ridiculed the "fancy franchises."

β . Many Conservatives objected to uniformity of household suffrage in boroughs and counties. Consequent resignation of Spencer Walpole, the Home Secretary.

γ . Lord John Russell objected to the "disfranchisement" of borough electors and the failure to lower the borough franchise and to give a vote to the working classes.

References :

A. *A History of Our Own Times*, chap. xxxviii.

The Earl of Derby, by Saintsbury (Sampson Low.) chap. vii.

DOMESTIC HISTORY, 1859-65

On the fall of Lord Derby's ministry, June, 1859, the Queen, feeling it "an invidious and unwelcome task" to distinguish between Palmerston and Russell, invited Granville to form a ministry. He failed, and Palmerston became Prime Minister, with Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer and Russell as Foreign Secretary. The Peelites (page 801) now finally left the Conservatives and united with the Whigs to form a very strong ministry. Although the importance of foreign affairs and the objection of Palmerston to measures of radical reform made dom

history of secondary importance, yet this was a formative period when popular opinion was being gradually formed on such questions as Ireland and Parliamentary reform.

I. Russell's Reform Bill, 1860.

June 11, 1860. Owing to Conservative opposition and Palmerston's refusal to support him, Russell withdrew a Reform Bill he had introduced to lower the borough franchise to £6. Reform was dropped for a time, and

September, 1863. Russell advised those who supported it to "rest and be thankful."

II. Finance.

A. Gladstone's Budgets.

Gladstone's brilliant finance and the acquisition by England of the American carrying trade during the Civil War in the United States enabled the country to meet the crisis caused by the Cotton Famine and the restriction of exports to America.

(1) The Budget of 1860.

The heavy increase in military estimates due to Palmerston's fear of Napoleon, the expense of the Chinese War, and the remission of taxes due to the French Treaty had caused a deficit. Gladstone—

a. Continued Peel's Free Trade policy, accepted the principle of the French Treaty, and reduced the number of articles taxed from 419 to 48.

b. To meet the deficit, increased by this reduction, he retained the taxes on tea and sugar and raised the Income Tax from ninepence to tenpence. He thus "aggravated a temporary deficiency . . . to make a great and permanent addition to productive power." The taxes retained were not protective but imposed purely for revenue.

(2) The Budget of 1863.

The Chancellor had a surplus owing partly to the French Treaty which had now doubled British exports to France, and partly to "the legislation of Parliament which had set free the industry and intelligence of the British people." Gladstone therefore—

- a. Reduced the duty on tea ;
- β. Lowered the Income Tax to sevenpence.

(3) The Budget of 1865.

"The crown and summit" of the finance of this period. Gladstone had a large surplus and therefore—

- a. Reduced the duty on tea to sixpence a pound ;
- β. Lowered the Income Tax to fourpence.

B. The repeal of the Paper Duty.

(1) 1860. The Lords threw out the Bill.

The Paper Duty was "a tax on knowledge," but the Bill for its repeal, which Gladstone introduced and which the Commons carried by a majority of nine, was thrown out in the Lords on the ground that the cost of the Chinese War rendered such remission of taxation unwise. Palmerston strongly objected to the Bill, and in a letter to the Queen had suggested that the Lords would be justified in rejecting it.

(2) Palmerston's resolutions.

The Commons strongly resented the action of the Lords as an infringement of their own rights to control taxation, and much indignation was caused because the Lords had prevented the remission of taxation. The Commons adopted three resolutions introduced by Palmerston

"That the right of granting aids and supplies to the Crown is in the Commons alone." This is not correct. The assent of the Lords is necessary for a legal grant. The Commons have the sole right of "initiating taxation," i.e. of proposing a grant.

β. "That [the exercise by the Lords of] the power of rejecting Bills relating to taxation by negativing the whole is regarded by this House with peculiar jealousy."

1. The actual right of the Lords to reject a Bill relating to taxation was not denied, but—

2. The action of the Lords in "revising the balances of supplies and ways and means—which had never been assumed by the Lords during two hundred years —was a breach of constitutional¹ usage. If the letter of the law was with the Lords, its spirit was clearly with the Commons" (May).

γ. "That to guard against an undue exercise of that power by the Lords, and to secure to the Commons their rightful control over taxation and supply, this House has in its own hands the power so to impose and remit taxes and Bills of supply that the right of the Commons may be maintained inviolate."

(3) 1861. The repeal of the Paper Duty was included by Gladstone in the Budget (not introduced as a separate Bill) and accepted by the Lords, who feared to reject the whole Budget—the only means they had of throwing out the Bill.

¹ It is important to note that the words "constitutional" and "unconstitutional" when used in this connection are practically equivalent to "customary" and "not customary."

- a. This arrangement was sanctioned by the Cabinet (which must be held responsible for it) only after considerable opposition from Lord Palmerston.
- β. The Conservatives denounced it as an attack on the privileges of the Lords, and Lord Robert Cecil¹ said the scheme was "more worthy of an attorney than a statesman."
- γ. From this time the financial proposals of the Government for each year have all been included in one Bill.

(4) The repeal of the Paper Duty "called into permanent and successful action the cheap press of this country" (Gladstone), and thus weakened the great authority of the *Times*.

III. The Death of the Prince Consort.

December 14, 1861. The Prince Consort died of gastric fever and congestion of the lungs at the age of forty-two.

- (1) The Prince had at first been somewhat despised as a petty German princeling. His lack of interest in sport, his reserved and serious character, "unredeemed by a single vice," the unjust suspicion that he preferred the interests of Germany to those of England and that he sympathised with Russia during the Crimean War, made him for a time very unpopular.
- (2) Later his purity of character, his intelligent interest in science and commerce (page 837) gained for him general respect.
- (3) He proved a helpful and sagacious adviser of the Queen, especially in foreign policy, and induced her to make, in the dispatch about the *Trent* (page 864), the

¹ Afterwards Marquis of Salisbury.

modifications which averted war between Great Britain and the United States. He foresaw the probability of the union of Germany under the leadership of Prussia, and distrusted Napoleon III. His sympathy with Austria against Sardinia was a mistake. He was a strong Free Trader. He admired Peel and hated Disraeli. He tended unduly to exalt the power of the Crown, and strongly resented the independent action of Palmerston. His death, by making the Queen more dependent upon her ministers, weakened the royal power.

References :

A. *Life of Gladstone*, by John Morley, Book V, chaps. II., III., and IV.

Constitutional History, by Sir T. E. May, Vol. II, pp. 104-12.

The Letters of Queen Victoria, Vol. I, p. 28; Vol. II, pp. 46, 316-18; Vol. III, pp. 1, 3, 4, 192-4, 469, 472. (John Murray.)

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY DURING LORD PALMERSTON'S SECOND MINISTRY, JUNE 1859, TO OCTOBER 1865

I. Italy.

A. The extension of Sardinia in the north.

- (1) April, 1859. Napoleon, frightened by the Orsini bombs and aiming at an Italian federation under the patronage of France, joined Sardinia against Austria.
- (2) June 4, 1859. The Austrians defeated at Magenta, and (June 24) at Solferino.
- (3) July 11, 1859. Napoleon, wishing to gain the favour of Austria, compelled the Sardinians to agree to the Treaty of Villafranca, by which—

- α. Lombardy and Parma were added to Sardinia but
- β. Venetia was restored to Austria.

- γ. The Italian States were to be united in a federation under the presidency of the Pope.

(4) March 18, 1860. Bologna, Modena, and Tuscany annexed to Sardinia on the vote of their inhabitants. The agreement of Napoleon secured by the cession of Savoy and Nice (March 24, 1860) to France.

There was great indignation in Italy at this cession, but Savoy was Swiss and Nice French rather than Italian; Napoleon's support was essential, and he was anxious to secure his south-eastern border.

B. The conquest of Naples.

May, 1860. Expedition of Garibaldi and his thousand "Red Shirts,"¹ who overran Sicily and entered Naples (September, 1860). In the same month the Sardinians occupied the Papal States, and only Rome (occupied by Napoleon's troops) and Venice (belonging to Austria) remained to be conquered.

September 1866. Austria ceded Venice.

September 20, 1870. The Italians occupied Rome.

C. Proclamation of the kingdom of Italy.

February, 1861. The first Italian Parliament assembled at Turin and recognised Victor Emmanuel, "Il re galantuomo," as King of Italy. The consummation of the work of Cavour.

D. The policy of Great Britain.

(1) Palmerston and Russell recognised the growth of national feeling in Italy, favoured the policy of "Italy for the Italians," did not give material aid, but showed benevolent neutrality and prevented the other powers from checking Garibaldi and protecting the Papal States, accepted Victor Emmanuel as King of Italy. England kept the ring for Italy.

¹ The red shirts were the originals of modern ladies' blouses.

- (2) Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort favoured Austria, but the policy of the ministry was strongly supported by England.
- (3) Napoleon's acquisition of Nice and Savoy aroused Palmerston's distrust. He thought Napoleon wished to overthrow the settlement of 1815, and to "humble and punish England."

II. Prussia, Austria, and Schleswig-Holstein.

A. Prussia supreme in the Zollverein.

1860. The German Zollverein¹ remodelled on a Free Trade basis. Consequent exclusion of Austria (which favoured Protection) and aggrandisement of Prussia, which became the leading member. The Zollverein was the foundation of the German Empire.

B. Schleswig-Holstein.

The Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were united to the Crown of Denmark, but Schleswig, which was a member of the German Confederation, desired closer union with Germany, while Holstein was Danish in sympathy.

February, 1864. Invasion of Denmark by Austria and Prussia. Defeat of the Danes, who heroically defended the fortress of Duppel.

August, 1864. Cession of Schleswig and Holstein to Prussia and Austria.

C. Sadowa.

Bismarck determined to incorporate the Duchies in Prussia. Consequent war between Prussia and Austria. Owing to their better organisation and the effect of their new needle-gun, the Prussians in the "Three Weeks War" routed the Austrians, hampered by their difficulties in Italy, at Sadowa (July 3, 1866).

a. Austria was excluded from Germany, Prussia became leader of the North German Confederation and obtained the Duchies.

B. Austria, owing to the weakening of her influence in Germany, was able to come to terms with Hungary. By the "Ausgleich" of 1867 each retained its independence, except for purposes of common interest.

June, 1867. Coronation of the Emperor Francis Joseph as King of Hungary at Pesth.

D. The policy of Great Britain.

Russell strongly sympathised with the Danes and led them to expect British help. In the Queen's Speech, 1864, he inserted words which pledged England to interfere, but the Queen, who sympathised with Prussia, struck them out. Russell's attitude encouraged the Danes to resist in the hope of British help, which never came.

III. Poland.

1863. Rising in Poland against Russia owing to the cruelty with which the Russian police enforced the conscription laws. Russell expressed strong sympathy with Poland, asserted his determination to enforce the treaties of 1815, which had provided that Poland should not be incorporated in Russia. He led the Poles to expect British help but sent them none.

IV. China.

A. The Second Chinese War, 1856-8.

(1) October, 1856. The lorcha¹ *Arrow* boarded by a mandarin, who arrested the crew on a charge of piracy. The *Arrow* was owned by a Chinaman, manned by a Chinese crew, commanded by a British master. She had been registered in September, 1855, for one year as a British vessel, and still flew the British flag although not entitled to do this, as her period of registration had expired.

¹ A lorcha was a kind of ship used largely in local Chinese trade.

(2) Sir John Bowring, Chief Superintendent of Trade at Hongkong, demanded the release of the prisoners and an apology from the Chinese. Commissioner Yeh, Governor of Canton, correctly denied that the *Arrow* was a British vessel, gave up the prisoners, but refused to apologise.

(3) Bowring further demanded that the Treaty of Nanking (1841), which gave British traders access to Hongkong, should be carried out, and on Yeh's refusal ordered Sir Michael Seymour to bombard Canton.

November 4, 1856. Bombardment of Canton.

December 30. The Chinese murdered the crew of the *Thisile*, and Yeh offered a reward for the heads of the "English and French dogs."

July, 1857. A force sent to China under Lord Elgin was detained in India for service against the mutineers.

January 5, 1858. Capture of Canton and Commissioner Yeh by a British and French force.

May, 1858. The allies marched towards Pekin and captured the Peiho forts.

June 29, 1858. Peace made by the Treaty of Tientsin.

a. A British representative to be received at Pekin.

β . Further facilities to be given to British traders and the appointment of British Consuls in the Treaty Ports was allowed.

(4) The action of Bowring was strongly supported by Palmerston on the ground that the British flag had been insulted, and that British subjects had been unjustly imprisoned. He declared that "an insolent barbarian, wielding authority at Canton, had violated the British flag, broken treaties, and planned the destruction of British subjects."

Lord Lyndhurst asserted correctly that the *Arrow*

was not a British vessel, and denounced the action of Bowring as illegal.

March 3, 1857. Cobden's resolution condemning the violent measures of Bowring was supported by Gladstone, Disraeli, and Russell, and carried in the Commons by sixteen votes. Palmerston dissolved Parliament and secured a large majority in the new Parliament which met on April 30.

II The Third Chinese War.

June 25, 1859. Defeat, at the Taku Forts on the Peiho, of an Anglo-French expedition sent under Admiral Hope to compel the ratification of the Treaty of Tientsin.

August 21, 1860. Capture of the Taku Forts by the French and British. Treacherous murder by the Chinese of four English envoys sent to discuss terms of peace.

October 12, 1860. Occupation of Pekin by the allies. Lord Elgin, the British Plenipotentiary, burned the Summer Palace.

a. His action was censured as unnecessary vandalism, but

β . It inflicted some punishment on the Emperor for the murder of the envoys and ensured the signature of the Treaty of Pekin without further bloodshed.

October 24, 1860. By the Treaty of Pekin the Treaty of Tientsin was ratified, the indemnity doubled, the Chinese accepted a British minister at Pekin, and Tientsin was opened to trade.

V. Japan.

1862. A British expedition compelled the Japanese to pay compensation for the murder of an Englishman and to open to foreign trade all ports except Yokohama.

VI. The American Civil War.

A. Causes.

(1) Industrial.

The Northern States were largely engaged in manufactures, and had adopted Protection to safeguard their manufactures against English competition.

The Southern States were agricultural and strongly resented Protection which prevented them from getting cheap machinery from England.

(2) Slavery.

The Northerners employed only free labour and the northern "Abolitionists" strongly opposed slavery.

The Southerners were dependent on slave labour for their tobacco, cotton, and sugar plantations. Thus "the industrial development of the south was bound up with the question of slavery," which they defended by the authority of the Old Testament. They strongly resented the picture of slavery given in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (published 1852), and in 1859 hanged John Brown for seizing Harper's Ferry to facilitate the escape of slaves to the north. The question as to whether the new prairie states were to be free or slave states was of vital importance, because these sent representatives to Congress which had the power to continue or abolish slavery. By 1860 the Abolitionists had secured a majority in Congress and the abolition of slavery seemed imminent.

(3) The right of secession.

The Southern States therefore asserted that the United States were a loose confederacy, and that any state whose interests were threatened by Congress had the right to secede from the Union. The Northerners maintained that the United States were a closely united Federal Republic and denied the right of any state to secede. This question involved the national

existence of the United States, and was the main issue of the war. It was intimately connected with the question of slavery, but the latter was not the chief cause of the war. Lincoln asserted: "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union and not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing a slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it."

November 6, 1860. The election of President Lincoln, a staunch Federal and Abolitionist, made war inevitable.

December 20, 1860. Secession of South Carolina.

February, 1861. Formation of the Confederate States of America with Jefferson Davis as President

B. The war.

April 13, 1861. Fort Sumter surrendered to the Confederates.

The three chief scenes of operations were:—

(1) The Atlantic seaboard, which the Federals blockaded successfully.

(2) The Central States.

(a) Virginia.

July 21, 1861. The Federals, advancing on Richmond, the Confederate capital, routed at Bull Run.

August 29-30, 1862. General Robert E. Lee, the greatest soldier of the war, routed the Federal "Army of the Potomac" at the second battle of Bull Run at "The Horror of Fredericksburg," December 13, 1862, and at Chancellorsville (where "Stonewall" Jackson was killed) (May 24, 1863).

September 22, 1862. In order to strengthen the position of the North, Lincoln issued a proclamation of emancipation of slaves.

(b) Pennsylvania.

July 1-3, 1863. Lee, having invaded Pennsylvania, was driven back by General George Meade at Gettysburg.

(3) The South.

April, 1862. The Federal Admiral Farragut captured New Orleans.

July 4, 1863. General Ulysses S. Grant¹ captured Vicksburg on the Mississippi.

"Gettysburg and Vicksburg decided the war. The North had shown its power to repel invasion, and had cut the Confederacy in twain."

April 9, 1865. Surrender of Lee to Grant at Appomattox in Virginia, after the occupation of Richmond by the Federal forces.

C. The murder of Lincoln.

April 14, 1865. Murder of Lincoln by John Wilkes Booth. Lincoln's courage, his ability as a strategist and organiser, and his confidence had greatly contributed to the Federal success. His death removed the only man who could have reconciled the North and South.

D. The policy of Great Britain.

(1) English opinion was divided as to the merits of the opponents. Many sympathised with the Confederates, believing that the Southerners were "gentlemen," that the horrors of slavery had been exaggerated, and that the development of the Northern States would lead to commercial rivalry with England. But the working classes, in spite of the hardships caused by the cotton famine, supported the Northerners, the opponents of slavery.

The ministry remained officially neutral, but their sympathies were with the South, and

¹ Nick = "Unconditional Surrender" Grant

October, 1862. Gladstone caused much resentment by his assertion that "Jefferson Davis had made an army, had made a navy, and, what was more, had made a nation."

(2) *The Trent.*

November 8, 1861. Captain Wilks, of the Federal warship *San Jacinto*, seized Mason and Slidell, two Confederate envoys sailing from Havannah on the British mail steamer *Trent* to Southampton to plead the Confederate cause in England and France. The seizure of two passengers on a neutral ship between two neutral ports, although generally approved by the Northerners, was a breach of international law which the object of the envoys could not justify. The Guards were sent to Canada, a strong protest (the original terms of which were modified by the Prince Consort, who thus averted war between Great Britain and the Northern States) was sent to Washington. The French supported the British cause, and the Federals grudgingly released Mason and Slidell. The strong feeling aroused on both sides embittered our relations with the Northerners.

(3) *The Alabama.*

June 23, 1863. The American Ambassador warned Russell that the *Alabama*, then in course of construction at Birkenhead, was to be used as a Confederate privateer. After some delay, due to accident, the Government ordered her to be detained, but she had then sailed with a crew largely British. In two years she captured seventy-six Northern vessels, and was sunk by the Federal cruiser *Kearsage* (June 19, 1864).

The Northerners claimed compensation, and after a long dispute the matter was referred, during Mr. Gladstone's first ministry, to a court of arbitration at Geneva, which awarded the Northerners £3,250,000.

(4) The Lancashire Cotton Famine.

Due to the blockade of the Southern ports and the consequent failure of the supply of raw cotton. At the end of 1862 half a million people were receiving relief. A voluntary fund of £2,000,000 was raised and skilfully administered by Lord Derby's Committee, and in spite of their sufferings, borne with heroic patience, the Lancashire operatives continued to support the Northerners.

(5) The effect of the war on Great Britain.

(a) Great Britain secured much of the carrying trade of the Northern States.

(b) A very bitter feeling was aroused against Great Britain in America.

The Northerners resented the recognition of the South by the British Government as belligerents (May, 1861), the sympathy shown to the South by the upper classes (and particularly Gladstone's speech), and the disputes about the *Trent* and the *Alabama* seemed likely to lead to war.

The Southerners resented the refusal of their English sympathisers to secure the recognition of the Confederate States as a separate nation.

Both resented the part Great Britain took in Napoleon III's unfortunate expedition to Mexico (1862), and in the middle of the Civil War proposals were made for both sides to cease the civil war and to unite against England.

VII. France.

A. Palmerston felt the utmost distrust of Napoleon and secured additional grants to strengthen the fortifications of Portsmouth and Plymouth to resist an expected French attack.

B. It is doubtful whether Palmerston's opinion was correct:

(1) 1860. Napoleon risked considerable unpopularity by agreeing to the Free Trade Commercial Treaty arranged by Cobden, although the French were strong supporters of Protection.

The Treaty provided—

- a. That England should abolish duties on French manufactured goods and should lower the duty on French wine.
- β. That French duties on British imports should not exceed thirty per cent of their value.

(2) 1862. France strongly supported Great Britain in the *Trent* case.

VIII. Summary.

The ministry had been most successful in dealing with the Italian question. It had preserved neutrality in regard to the American Civil War, although it was guilty of carelessness in allowing the *Alabama* to sail. It had vindicated British rights in China and Japan. But in regard to Denmark and Poland it had adopted a policy of "meddle and muddle" (Disraeli).

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LORD PALMERSTON

Henry John Temple, third Viscount Palmerston.¹

I. His Life.

1784. October 20. Born. Educated at Harrow, Edinburgh, and Cambridge.

1809-28. Secretary at War under Perceval, Liverpool, Canning, Goderich, and Wellington, whose ministry he left with other Canningites in 1828 on Wellington's refusal to disfranchise East Retford and Penryn.

1830-41. Foreign Secretary under Grey and Melbourne. (Out of office during Peel's short ministry, 1834-35.) During this period he avoided war, and "created Belgium, saved Portugal and Spain from absolutism, rescued Turkey from Russia, and the highway to India from France."

1846-51. Foreign Secretary in Russell's first ministry.

1846. He maintained the independence of Switzerland against Austria and France; protested against the Spanish marriages; supported the Queen of Portugal (page 802).

1848. He did not actively interfere in the revolutions in Europe;

1849. In the struggle between Austria and Italy he adopted a policy of "judicious bottle-holding," but authorised the supply of arms to Sicilian rebels, and by diplomacy obtained better terms for the Sardinians after Novara.

¹ In the peerage of Ireland.

1849. Protested against Austrian severity towards Hungarian rebels, and supported the Sultan in his refusal to give up Kossuth.

1850. Blockaded the Piræus and compelled Greece to give compensation to Don Pacifico. His "Civis Romanus" speech (June 24, 1850). He excused the assault of Barclay and Perkins' draymen on the Austrian general, Haynau, because the latter was "a great moral criminal."

1851. December. Dismissed by Russell for expressing approval of Napoleon's *coup d'état*, and had his "tit-for-tat with John Russell, and turned him out on the Militia Bill" (February, 1852).

1852. Owing to his opposition to Protection refused to join Derby's "Who-who" ministry.

1852. Home Secretary in Aberdeen's ministry.

He limited interments in the city of London (1853), restricted the hours of labour of children in factories, and resigned owing to Russell's proposals to lower the borough franchise. He soon returned to office and advocated the vigorous prosecution of the Crimean War.

February, 1855–February, 1858. Prime Minister for the first time.

Remedied the deficiencies of the British army in the Crimea, carried on the war vigorously, and agreed to the Treaty of Paris, thus securing for a time the integrity of Turkey.

1857. Defeated on the question of the Chinese War, but secured a majority in the General Election owing to his action in the Crimean War and to the absence of a rival with a strong policy.

He showed some lack of energy in the early stages of the Indian Mutiny, but subsequently acted with vigour.

1858. He became unpopular owing to his dictatorial manner (which he modified later) and to his unfortunate appointment of Lord Clanricarde, a man of low moral character, as Lord Privy Seal. He was defeated on the Conspiracy to Murder Bill (page 843) and resigned.

June, 1859–October, 1865. Prime Minister for the second time.

He adopted an attitude of benevolent neutrality towards Sardinia, and favoured Italian unity. In the American Civil War he determined "to lie on our oars, and to give no pretext to the Washingtonians to quarrel with us," but, on the seizure of the Confederate envoys on the *Trent*, sent the Guards to Canada and accepted Russell's strong dispatch which, but for the Prince Consort's alterations, might have led to war between Great Britain and the United States. He expressed strong sympathy with Denmark and Poland, but did not help them against Prussia and Austria and Russia. His fear of Napoleon's aggressive policy led him to strengthen the national defences. He opposed measures of reform, and disapproved of the repeal of the Paper Duties. He obtained a majority in the General Election in 1865, but died October 18, 1865.

II. Foreign Policy.

A. Palmerston greatly strengthened the influence of Great Britain in Europe.

(1) Palmerston, a follower of Canning, believed that Great Britain "ought to maintain peace and to count for something in the transactions of the world."

a. He kept Britain out of war in Europe from 1830–41. "Ten years of great and extraordinary difficulty."

β. 1859-65. He took no active part in European and American wars, although his professions of sympathy encouraged Denmark and Poland to continue their hopeless struggles, and his benevolent neutrality materially strengthened the cause of Sardinia.

γ. But he prosecuted war, when necessary, with great vigour (e.g. the Crimean War), and was ever ready to defend the rights of Englishmen by force (e.g. Don Pacifico).

- (2) He thought that British political institutions were the best possible, and ought to be generally adopted. He favoured Liberalism abroad, and used British influence to induce sovereigns to grant reforms, and reformers to modify their demands. He aimed at "getting the affairs of Europe into trim," and was determined "to stand no nonsense" in carrying out his policy. His dictatorial methods made him unpopular abroad, but the growing importance of Britain, which resulted from his successes, made him popular at home.
- (3) He steadily opposed Russia, believing that the extension of Russian influence in Eastern Europe and Central Asia was dangerous to British interests. He supported the integrity of Turkey, partly as a check on Russia, partly because he admired the Turks.
- (4) He at first admired Napoleon III, and lost office (in 1851) through approval of the *coup d'état*. But later he thought that the Emperor wished to conquer England, and adopted an attitude of hostility.
- (5) Although Palmerston strengthened British influence, his disregard of the rights and feelings of other nations and his arbitrary methods "lowered the tone of British politics for a time."

III. Domestic Policy.

A. He supported Catholic Emancipation, and lost his seat for Cambridge University in 1831 because he advocated Parliamentary reform. But he thought that the Reform Bill of 1832 was a final settlement, and strongly opposed the attempts of Russell and the advanced Liberals to extend the franchise. He objected to the repeal of the Paper Duties, and championed the cause of the Irish landlords, declaring that "tenant right is landlord wrong." He showed no sympathy with the grievances of Nonconformists, and did not appreciate the importance of the Colonies.

"Domestic indifferentism" was the keynote of his policy, and he was "the Tory chief of a Liberal Government." His policy of compromise was well suited to a period of political calm at home.

B. Gladstone and Palmerston.

Gladstone's financial measures greatly strengthened Palmerston's ministry, but the two men were often at issue, and Palmerston once said that he kept a special drawer solely for Gladstone's letters of resignation.

- (1) Gladstone was anxious to diminish the cost of government, and strongly opposed Palmerston's heavy military estimates. "The estimates were always settled at the dagger's point" (Gladstone).
- (2) Palmerston objected to the repeal of the Paper Duties, although sanctioned by the Cabinet, and used his position somewhat unfairly to prejudice the Queen against it.

C. Palmerston's personal influence united ministers of different opinions in the same Cabinet. He "held a great bundle of sticks together." The Tories, who still distrusted Disraeli and feared Radicalism, gladly accepted the

ministry of Palmerston, who was an effective barrier to reform. His death marks the end of the era of middle-class rule which had been inaugurated by the Reform Bill and the beginning of modern democracy.

IV. Personal Characteristics.

A. Independence.

He often acted on his own initiative without consulting the Sovereign or his colleagues.

- (1) 1834. The Quadruple Alliance "a capital hit and all my own doing."
- (2) He acted thus in the case of the Spanish marriages and of Don Pacifico, and the Queen issued a memorandum, August 12th, 1850, complaining of "the various neglects of which she has had so long and so often to complain," and requiring
 - a. "That [Lord Palmerston] will distinctly state what he proposes to do in a given case, in order that the Queen may know as distinctly to what she has given her Royal sanction."
 - β. "Having once given her sanction to a measure, that it be not arbitrarily altered or modified by the Minister."
- (3) December, 1851. In spite of the memorandum Palmerston, without consulting his colleagues, expressed his approval of Napoleon's *coup d'état*, and was dismissed by Lord John Russell.
- (4) He differed from the Queen on the question of Schleswig-Holstein, and in 1859 "carried on a sharp paper warfare with the Queen and his colleagues"¹ on the question of Italy.

B. A thorough Englishman.

He was a great sportsman (his "bottle-holding" metaphor offended many who objected to the prize

¹ Except Russell and Gladstone.

ring); possessed great physical endurance (in 1864 he rode from London to Harrow within an hour); vigorously maintained the prestige of England.

C. Not a good speaker.

He made only two great speeches (one being the "Civis Romanus" speech), but his straightforward, conversational style carried great weight in the House of Commons.

D. He had considerable power of wit and sarcasm, but usually showed no malice towards his opponents (e.g. after his inglorious dismissal in 1851 he showed great courtesy to his successor, Lord Granville, and made no reference to the Queen in his explanation of the event). But his levity and "irrelevant jocularities" sometimes injured his cause, and his famous reference to John Bright as "the honourable and reverend member" was in bad taste.

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ENGLISH LITERATURE, 1887-65

The literature of this period was marked by energy and vitality. It was imaginative and creative. It showed a consciousness of the problems of the time, and was "an attempt to examine modern progress in the light of the emotions and imagination."

I. Poetry.**A. Alfred Tennyson, 1809-92.**

The Princess, 1847; *Poet Laureate*, 1850; *In Memoriam*, 1850; *Idylls*, 1859.

His poetry is refined, graceful, and sweet; it is marked by clearness of presentation, correct diction, musical rhythm, and variety of subject. Tennyson was a sincere patriot, a keen observer of the details of nature. He dealt with problems of morality and religion in *In Memoriam*. In the *Idylls of the King* he uses mediæval legend as an allegory to portray "Sense at war with Soul." His clearness, beauty, and lack of very deep thought made him popular, and he exercised profound influence on later writers.

B. Robert Browning, 1812-89.

A poet of passion, pathos, and great dramatic power. In *The Ring and the Book* he displays a profound insight into human character. His work at times seems obscure and discordant, but his beautiful shorter poems are free from these faults which impaired his general popularity without seriously weakening his influence on scholars and thinkers.

C. Mrs. Browning (1806-61).

Her poems, in spite of weakness of rhythm, are marked by high ideals, a sense of beauty, and (especially in *Aurora Leigh*, "a novel in verse") by appreciation of problems of the time.

II. Prose.**A. Novels.**

(1) Charles Dickens (1812-70), "A Cockney Shakespeare," depicting with vitality and resource the life of the middle and lower middle classes. His humour sometimes becomes farce, his tragedy is often melodrama, his plots are often weak, but his characters are real; his style, though somewhat unpolished, is easy.

and conversational, and he uses his power of satire to attack abuses of the time. The *Tale of Two Cities* differs from his other works, and is a historical romance.

(2) William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-63).

Vanity Fair, 1847, *Esmond*, 1852, *The Newcomes*, 1853.

The novelist of the "hupper suckles"¹ who live in *Vanity Fair*. A master of easy but faultless prose. Some critics accuse him of bitter cynicism and lack of sympathy. Others maintain that humour and pity are his chief characteristics. His great historical romances, *Esmond* and *The Virginians*, successfully depict the life of the eighteenth century.

(3) Some other novelists.

Benjamin Disraeli's novels deal with political and social questions; they are marked by great ingenuity, by imagination, by vivid representation of thinly disguised contemporary politicians, and by much sham philosophy.

Lord Lytton (1803-73) was versatile, and produced sentimental, historical, and domestic novels to suit varying popular taste.

"George Eliot" (Mary Ann Cross, 1819-80) published *Adam Bede*, 1859. Her early and most successful novels were marked by reality of character sketches and the statement of philosophical principles. *Silas Marner* (1861) is perhaps the best short story in English.

Mrs. Gaskell (1810-65) dealt in *Mary Barton* (1848) with the life of mill hands, and in *Cranford* (1853) with village life.

Charles Reade (1814-84) attacked the abuses of prison life in *It's Never too Late to Mend* (1856), the first novel dealing with social abuses; *The Cloister and the Hearth* (1861) was a great historical novel.

¹ Jeames Yellowplush in the *Yellowplush Papers*

- Charles Kingsley's famous romance, *Westward Ho!*, appeared 1855.

Captain Fred Marryat's (1792-1848) breezy nautical novels, Charles Lever's (1806-72) rollicking Irish stories, and the historical romances of William Harrison Ainsworth (1805-82) and George Payne James (1799-1860) were widely read.

B. History.

- (1) Lord Macaulay's (1800-59) *Essays* and unfinished *History of England* (1848-55) are marked by a strong Whig bias, by "cocksureness," and by an epigrammatic and antithetical but clear style, which exercised a profound influence on later prose writers.
- (2) Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881).

The human element in history attracted Carlyle more than political institutions. His work is intensely dramatic and realistic (his *French Revolution* was "history read by lightning"); he was a prophet and teacher, asserting the "eternal verities" against "shams" of all kinds; he had much grim humour and pathos; his style, rugged but forcible, is itself a revolt against convention.

- (3) Henry Thomas Buckle (1821-62), in his *History of Civilisation*, of which only part appeared, tried to show the connection existing between historical movements and physical laws; George Grote's *History of Greece* (1846-56) was a learned and monumental glorification of democracy.

C. Other prose writers.

- (1) John Ruskin (1819-1900), a great art critic and social reformer, wrote *Modern Painters*, 1843-8, *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, 1849. He preached the doctrine of Truth in art and life, secured due recognition for Turner's paintings, encouraged the revival of Gothic

architecture, and strongly supported the Pre-Raphaelites.

The Pre-Raphaelites opposed academic convention in art teaching, and insisted on faithful observation and true expression. Millais, Holman Hunt, and Rossetti were their great painters, and combined with William Morris to apply their artistic principles to domestic decoration.

- (2) Charles Kingsley (1819-75), advocated Christian Socialism in *Yeast* (1848), and *Alton Locke* (1850).
- (3) Matthew Arnold (1822-88), whose poems are graceful and cultured, was the leading literary critic of the period. He pleaded for "sweetness and light" in literature and life, and strongly attacked the "Philistinism" that resulted from material prosperity.
- (4) John Stuart Mill (1806-73), published *A System of Logic*, 1843, *Principles of Political Economy*, 1848, *Liberty*, 1859, *Utilitarianism*, 1863. His style was clear and not too scientific. He did much to popularise utilitarian philosophy, and supported the liberty of the individual.
- (5) John Henry Newman (1801-90) published *Apologia pro vita sua* (1864) in answer to Charles Kingsley's accusation of want of truth.

III. Drama.

The nineteenth century was marked by a "strange divorce between literature and drama." The best-known dramatist of this period was Lord Lytton (1803-73), author of *The Lady of Lyons* (1838), and *Richelieu* (1839). His plays, though well adapted for stage representation, are sentimental and unduly florid in style.

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THE REFORM BILLS OF 1866, 1867, AND 1884

Since 1832 the £10 householders had been the real rulers of the nation, and although five ministers had advocated reform in six speeches from the throne, all attempts at lowering the franchise had failed, largely owing to Palmerston's opposition.

I. The Bill of 1866.

A. Palmerston's death made reform practicable, and Russell brought in the Bill of 1866, although the time was unfavourable, owing to—

- (1) The pressure of other questions, such as the danger from the Fenians, Ireland, difficulties in Jamaica (where Governor Eyre had quelled a negro rising with great severity), a financial crisis in London (which reached its height on Black Friday, May 11, 1866), and the dangerous state of Europe.
- (2) The absence of a general demand for reform, except in the north. The House of Commons was not anxious for reform.

B. Russell's Bill reduced the borough franchise from £10 to £7, enfranchised £10 lodgers, reduced the county franchise from £50 to £14. It made no distinction between "compound householders" and rate-paying householders

- (1) Gladstone asserted that by introducing the Bill the Government had "crossed the Rubicon" and adopted the cause of democracy. He predicted success, for "time is on our side" and "you cannot fight the future."
- (2) The Bill was too moderate for the extreme Liberals, too advanced for the Conservatives. It was an attempt to make a compromise, and was founded on no great principle.

C. The rejection of the Bill.

- (1) The Conservatives opposed the Bill, but the main opposition came from Robert ("Bobby") Lowe, a Liberal opponent of democracy, who protested against this attempt "to pluck down on our own heads the venerable temple of our liberty and our glory." He was supported by about thirty Liberals, whom Bright called "the Adullamites."¹
- (2) Lord Grosvenor's² amendment to redistribute seats before reforming the franchise was defeated by only five votes.
- (3) Lord Dunkellin's amendment in Committee to substitute rating for rental as the qualification for the borough franchise was carried by eleven votes against the Government, who resigned office.

II. Growing Demand for Reform.

The opposition to the Bill caused a greater interest in reform among the working classes, especially among Trades Unionists, who now for the first time took an active interest in a political question. A London Reform mob on July 23, 1866, pulled down the railings of Hyde Park, and their violence made Derby, the new Prime Minister, and Disraeli, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, realise that, although they had opposed Russell's Bill, the need of reform had become urgent.

III. The Bill of 1867.

A. Disraeli's resolutions, February 11, 1867.

Disraeli had seen the futility of his early hopes that the country would be governed by a regenerated aristocracy, both he and Derby had asserted the need of reform in 1859, and he had "educated" the Conservative party to accept this position. To take

¹ A reference to the distressed and discontented men who joined David in the Cave of Adullam (1 Sam. xxii.).

² First Duke of Westminster.

the feeling of the House of Commons he introduced a number of resolutions which asserted the need of increasing the number of electors, lowering the franchise qualifications, limiting the predominance of any one class, making rating the basis of the occupation franchise, maintaining plural voting, and redistributing seats. The resolutions and a moderate Bill based upon them were withdrawn, and Lord Cranborne,¹ Lord Carnarvon, and General Peel resigned office through opposition to a more advanced measure.

B. The Bill.

March 18, 1867. Disraeli introduced his Bill. The original provisions :—

(a) The lowering of the franchise.

a. In boroughs all householders *paying rates* received the franchise.

β. In counties £12 householders received the franchise.

Thus about 750,000 voters would be added to the electorate.

(b) Checks and balances.

a. To check the increased power of the working classes "fancy franchises" were to be created for ministers of religion, University graduates, persons having £50 in the funds, or paying £1 direct taxes.

β. The holders of fancy franchises who had also a property qualification were to have two votes.

About 320,000 new voters would be created by these clauses.

C. Opposition to the Bill.

(1) Gladstone objected to the fancy franchises and dual voting, which, he said, would lead to a "war of classes." He and Bright wished to fix £5 as the

¹ Formerly Lord Robert Cecil, later Marquis of Salisbury.

minimum qualification for rating and franchise, and thus to exclude "the residuum" (Bright) from a share in the government.

(2) The extreme Liberals, "the Tea-Room party,"¹ desired to get the widest measure of reform. They secured the rejection of Gladstone's limitation, and demanded the vote for the "compound householder."

- a. Owing to Liberal opposition the fancy franchises were withdrawn, the residential qualification was lowered from two years to one, £10 lodger franchises were introduced, and dual voting was abolished.
- β. But John Stuart Mill failed to secure the extension of the franchise to women.
- γ. The difficulty as to the compound householder was solved by an amendment accepted by Disraeli "that no person other than the occupier shall be assessed to parochial rates within the limits of a parliamentary borough."

(3) Many Conservatives strongly objected to the passage of such a measure, which Lord Cranborne called "a political betrayal which has no parallel in our annals."

D. The passage of the Bill.

(1) The Bill was passed as amended and with the addition of clauses dealing with redistribution.

- a. Thirty-three seats were transferred from small towns to London, Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, Leeds, and other large towns.
- β. In "three-cornered constituencies" returning three members voters were allowed to record only two votes.

(2) July 16, 1867. The Bill passed by the Commons.
August 6, 1867. The Bill passed by the Lords owing to Derby's influence.

¹ So called because they met in the tea-room of the House of Commons.

E. Criticism.

- (1) The Reform Bill of 1867 was the necessary sequel to that of 1832. It was democratic, and recognised the political importance of the working classes. It placed the borough franchise on the sure foundation of household suffrage, but did not effect a final settlement of the county franchise.
- (2) Its result seemed doubtful, and Derby called it "a leap in the dark," while Carlyle described it as "shooting Niagara." Lowe's assertion that "we must educate our masters" was a recognition of the need of education for the new factor in politics.
- (3) Disraeli's action was adversely criticised. He had opposed the Bill of 1866. The change in his policy and the readiness with which he accepted Liberal amendments were denounced as "political legerdemain" by Cranborne, and Gladstone expressed wonder at his "diabolical cleverness." He had certainly "dished the Whigs," and "adopted the principles of Bright at the dictation of Gladstone," but he honestly believed in the necessity for reform, and may have thought that a Reform Bill carried by the Conservatives would prove less dangerous to the Constitution than a Radical measure.

IV. The Bill of 1884.

A. The Bill.

It was introduced February 28, 1884, and provided—

- a. That the county franchise, like the borough franchise, should be extended to all occupiers and £10 lodgers.
- b.** That persons who, though otherwise qualified, were neither tenants nor £10 lodgers should have the right to vote. "The service franchise."
- c.** That the Bill should apply to Scotland and Ireland as well as England.

Gladstone acknowledged the need of a Redistribution

Bill, but refused to introduce one together with the Reform Bill, as he doubted whether he could carry the two Bills at the same time.

3. Criticism.

- (1) The Bill remedied the deficiency of the Bill of 1867 by enfranchising the agricultural labourer. It placed the county and borough franchises on the same footing, added a new element to the electorate, and represented the final triumph of democracy.

The Bill of 1832 added to the electorate about 500,000 electors; that of 1867 about 1,000,000; that of 1884 about 2,000,000, and was based on the idea that the strength of the Constitution depended on the width of the representation.

- (2) The Conservatives hesitated to express their doubts of the fitness of the agricultural labourer to exercise the vote, and did not oppose the principle of the Bill. But they feared that unless redistribution accompanied reform they would be completely defeated at the next election.
- (3) There was considerable opposition to the proposal to extend the £10 suffrage to Ireland, partly because of the poverty and illiteracy of many who would be enfranchised, partly because the new arrangement would increase the number of Parnellites and strengthen the cause of Home Rule. Gladstone asserted that the strength of Irish discontent had been British injustice, and hoped that discontent would be allayed by the extension of the franchise.

C. The House of Lords

- (1) The Conservative majority of the Lords, wishing to protect their party from defeat at the next election, threw out the Reform Bill, and demanded "a complete scheme" of redistribution and reform. Gladstone denied the right of the Lords to force a dissolution, and refused to dissolve Parliament.

(2) The action of the Lords caused great resentment, and led to an agitation to "mend or end" (Morley) the Upper House, which rejected a proposal of Lord Rosebery that it should reform itself. Gladstone did not favour the agitation, which died away when the Lords passed the Reform Bill.

D. The passage of the Bill.

A compromise was made, largely owing to the efforts of the Queen. On November 19, Salisbury and Northcote took tea at Downing Street with Gladstone, who agreed to bring in a Redistribution Bill, the provisions of which were to be arranged between the leaders of the Government and Opposition.

(1) May, 1885. The Redistribution Bill passed the Commons, and provided—

- a. That boroughs with a population of less than 15,000 inhabitants should be disfranchised, and that boroughs with less than 50,000 should return only one member. Thus 160 seats were abolished.
- b. That as a general rule "single member" constituencies should be established.

England gained six and Scotland twelve additional members.

(2) December 6, 1884, the Lords passed the Reform Bill (which had been reintroduced into the Commons in October) and the Redistribution Bill in June, 1885.

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LORD JOHN RUSSELL, 1792-1878

I. Life.

1792. Born. The third son of the sixth Duke of Bedford. Educated at Westminster and Edinburgh.

1813. Entered Parliament as Whig M.P. for Tavistock.

1828. Moved the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts.

1831. Moved the Reform Bill in the House of Commons.

1832. Moved the Reform Bill for the second time, June 24, and the third time, December 12.

1834. Supported the reform of the Irish Church, and "upset the coach" on the Appropriation Question (page 792).

1835. As Home Secretary and Leader of the House of Commons, under Lord Melbourne, diminished the number of offences punishable with death.

1839-41. Colonial Secretary under Melbourne. Supported the Canada Bill (page 985).

1845. November 22. Declared for Free Trade in his "Edinburgh Letter" and supported the repeal of the Corn Laws.

1846-52. Prime Minister for the first time.

1850. Wrote the "Durham Letter," and 1851 brought in the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill.

1851. Compelled Palmerston to resign the Foreign Secretaryship.

1852-3. Foreign Secretary in Lord Aberdeen's ministry, and supported the Crimean War.

1855. Plenipotentiary at Vienna.

1859-65. Foreign Secretary under Lord Palmerston.

1861. Created Earl Russell.

1865-6. Prime Minister for the second time. Brought in the Reform Bill.

1878. Died.

II. "Lord John Reformer."¹

This happy nickname was due to his determination to give representation "to the living energy and industry of England of the nineteenth century."

A. Parliamentary reform.

1821. Introduced a Bill to disfranchise the "rotten borough" of Grampound.

1831-2. Supported the Reform Bill.

At first regarded the Reform Bill as a final settlement, and was nicknamed "Finality Jack." Later tried to extend the franchise.

1854. Owing to the pressure of the Eastern Question withdrew the Reform Bill he had introduced.

1860. Failed to carry another Reform Bill.

Apparently gave up the idea of a further extension of the franchise, and advised reformers to "rest and be thankful," but—

1866. Brought in another Reform Bill to extend the borough franchise to £7 householders and £10 lodgers, and the county franchise to £14 tenants. He resigned on the defeat of the Government on Lord Dunkellin's motion to substitute rating for rental as the qualification for the borough franchise, and withdrew from active political life.

B. Municipal reform.

1835. He carried the Municipal Reform Act, "which, next to the reform of Parliament, did more to broaden and uplift the political life of the people than any other enactment of the century."

C. The reform of education.

(1) 1839. Carried a Bill for the increase of Government grants to elementary schools, and the appointment of inspectors for State-aided schools, and supported the

¹ Sydney Smith gave him this name

appointment of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education.

This Committee was the foundation of the system of elementary education in England.

- (2) 1847. He organised the Pupil Teacher system in order to increase the efficiency of elementary teachers.
- (3) He opposed purely secular schools, and was a strong supporter of Bible teaching.
- (4) 1826. He took an active part in the establishment of the University of London.

D. 1847. Supported the Factory Act, which reformed the conditions of work by limiting the hours of labour of "young persons."

III. He was the Champion of Liberty.

A. Religious liberty.

He "reverenced the conscience of every man," and did much to remove religious disabilities. His support of the University of London was partly due to its freedom from religious tests.

- (1) Protestant Nonconformists.
- 1828. Moved successfully the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts.
- 1836. He introduced the Marriage Act, which legalised marriages in Nonconformist chapels.
- (2) Roman Catholics.
- 1829. Supported Roman Catholic Emancipation.
- 1845. Supported Peel's proposal to increase the Government grant to Maynooth (page 795), but introduced the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill 1851.
- (3) Jews.
- 1858. After repeated failures to secure the admission of Jews to Parliament, a Bill, supported by Russell, was carried providing that either House could decide on the form of oath to be taken by Jews, and thus their admission to the Commons was ensured.

B. National liberty.

1859-65. His benevolent neutrality greatly strengthened the Italian cause, but his strong expressions of sympathy weakened the Danes and Poles, because he could not give active support.

C. The Colonies.

(1) He favoured the extension of constitutional liberty to the Colonies. "I delight in observing the imitation of our free institutions in colonies at a distance from the Palace of Westminster."

1850. He approved of the Colonies Act, which gave self-government to Victoria, Tasmania, and South Australia.

(2) He was opposed to the extension of British authority and (1854) recognised the independence of the Orange Free State, the inhabitants of which were not anxious for independence.

IV. Ireland.

A. He was sincerely anxious to improve the condition of Ireland, made the "Lichfield House Compact" with O'Connell (page 758), and supported measures for the reform of the Irish Municipalities and Poor Law.

B. The Famine.

(1) 1847. He tried to alleviate distress caused by the Famine by promoting "works of acknowledged utility," but to avoid competition with private interests directed his attention largely to the making of roads, which cost Great Britain £1,000,000 a month and proved of little ultimate good.

(2) He refused to sanction Lord George Bentinck's proposal for the construction of State railways in Ireland on the ground that only one quarter of the cost would go to the labourers, and, finding that the landlords were gaining undue advantage from public works started by Peel, ordered that localities should repay

loans advanced by the Government to pay the costs of such works.

These actions caused such resentment that several juries returned a verdict of wilful murder against him in inquests on victims of the Famine.

- (3) But he did much to save the lives of many by suspending the Navigation Acts and the duty on corn (thus facilitating the importation of cheap corn into Ireland), and by strongly supporting voluntary measures of relief.
- (4) He did not take any measures to reform the system of land tenure in Ireland, to which the miserable condition of the people was largely due.

V. Some Mistakes.

A. 1850. The "Durham Letter" alienated the Roman Catholics and High Churchmen by its violent attack on the Pope and the Oxford Movement.

The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill he carried in 1851 proved a dead letter. *Punch's* famous cartoon of Lord John as "The boy who chalked 'No Popery' on a door and ran away" accurately hits off the situation.

B. His conduct while a member of Aberdeen's ministry was inconsistent and unfair to Aberdeen. "He was alternately hinting that he ought to be Prime Minister and threatening to resign. He denounced the misgovernment of Turkey in the strongest language, and he was eager to fight for Turkey against Russia." He made a great mistake in joining the ministry at all.

C. January 24, 1855. He resigned his office as Lord President of the Council on Roebuck's motion of censure on the Aberdeen ministry for its mismanagement of the Crimean War.

a. He resigned because he did not see how the blunders of the Government could be remedied

B. But as a member of the Cabinet he shared the responsibility, and his resignation looked like the desertion of his colleagues, who showed their strong resentment by refusing to take office under him in 1855.

"To escape punishment he ran away from duty." (Gladstone.)

D. 1855. The negotiations at Vienna.

- (1) As British Plenipotentiary he agreed at Vienna that Russia should be allowed to keep a small naval force in the Black Sea; that Great Britain, Austria, and France should coerce Russia if this force were increased; and that the siege of Sebastopol should be raised as a preliminary of peace.
- (2) At home he refused to sanction this arrangement owing to the strong feeling of the Cabinet that the abandonment of the siege of Sebastopol would weaken the authority in France of our ally, Napoleon. It was impossible to state publicly the real reason for his change of policy, and it seemed as if he had sacrificed his convictions to keep office. He was compelled to resign the Colonial Secretaryship, July, 1855, after his conduct had been adversely criticised in the House of Commons.

In this case he was placed in a most difficult position, and acted honourably in not embarrassing the Cabinet by giving the real reason for his action.

E. The *Alabama* (page 859).

It has been said that Lord John Russell's hesitation and consequent failure to prevent the *Alabama* from sailing "cost England £1,000,000 a day." But it is doubtful if he ought to be held responsible. It was necessary to take the advice of the Law Officers of the Crown, and the delay was due to the unfortunate illness of the Queen's Advocate. On receiving the necessary

advice, Lord John at once telegraphed to stop the *Alabama*, which had already sailed. He always maintained that Great Britain had exercised all due vigilance, and had been strictly neutral, and absolutely denied the right of the United States to any compensation.

VI. Personal Characteristics.

- A. In public he was shy and reserved, and occasionally his lack of tact, his impulsiveness, and his hasty temper led him to make serious mistakes.
- B. On a few occasions he showed some lack of loyalty to his colleagues (notably to Aberdeen).
- C. As a speaker he was usually terse and clear. In minor matters he was apt to be careless, but when a question of real gravity arose he spoke with eloquence and feeling, and "Languid Johnny turned to glorious John."
- D. He was keenly interested in Literature, History, and Classics. He wrote a life of his friend, the Irish poet Moore, a history of Charles James Fox, and was from 1872-8 President of the Royal Historical Society. His son stated that he always carried a small edition of Horace with him.

VII. General.

Although, as he said, "I have committed many errors, some of them very gross blunders," his long life was marked by the courageous assertion of great principles. Few statesmen have done as much to promote the happiness of their countrymen, which he regarded as "the object to which my efforts ought to be directed."

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- B. *Collections and Recollections*, by G. W. E. Russell, pp. 165-6

IRELAND, 1866-73

I. Fenianism.

A. General unrest.

The unsatisfactory land system (especially the "absentee" landlords and the lack of tenant right), the unthrifty character of the peasants, the permanence of the potato disease, and the supremacy of the Protestant Church had caused widespread discontent. English statesmen were profoundly ignorant of the needs of Ireland,¹ and vainly tried to pacify Ireland by measures based on the totally different conditions of England.

B. The growth and nature of Fenianism.

- (1) Many Irishmen migrated to America and fought in the Civil War. They hoped that the hostility between the United States and Great Britain, which was so strong about 1865, would result in war, and organised the Fenians² in order to take full advantage of any opportunities of helping Ireland that such a war would present. The central authority of the society was in New York, where the Irish-American element was strongest.
- (2) Fenianism was a political and national movement, aiming at establishing an independent republic in Ireland. It was not agrarian or religious, and the Roman Catholic priests opposed it. The chief leaders were Irish Americans, and its adherents were men of humble social position. Arms were manufactured, and attempts were made to win over Irish soldiers.

C. Disorder.

- (1) September 15, 1865. Arrest of O'Donovan Rossa, the proprietor of the *Irish People*, the chief Fenian paper.

¹ Palmerston declared that the only Irish grievance was its climate.

² From "Fis na," the old Irish Militia.

(2) February 16, 1866. The Government appreciated the danger, and passed through both Houses in one day a Bill to Suspend the Habeas Corpus, and to give the Lord Lieutenant extraordinary powers of arresting suspected persons.

a. John Bright denounced the Bill as "a blot upon the reign of the Queen," but did not vote against it.

β. The passage of the Bill led to the departure of most of the American emissaries from Ireland.

(3) The Fenian invasion of Canada.

May 31, 1866. Twelve hundred Fenians crossed the River Niagara near Buffalo and seized Fort Erie. The American Government refused aid, and the invasion was easily suppressed.

(4) February, 1867. Proposed attack on Chester Castle.

Many Fenians went to Chester to attack the castle but the excellent preparations of the authorities averted any rising.

(5) Fenian rising in Ireland.

March, 1867. A rising in Ireland, arranged by the "Head Centre," James Stephens, completely failed. The insurgents lacked arms, and, relying upon their leaders, had failed to make adequate preparations. The priests opposed the rising, which was ruined by the "Fenian winter," which "buried the insurrection in snow." The leniency with which prisoners were treated was regarded as a sign of weakness on the part of the Government, and it was resolved "to carry the war into England."

(6) The "Manchester Martyrs."

September 18, 1867. Murder of Sergeant Brett in Manchester while guarding two Fenians, Kelly and Deasy, who had been apprehended for burglary. Execution of Allen (who fired the shot), Larkin, and O'Bri. n.

All were guilty of murder, but the youth of Allen, and doubt as to the intention of the prisoners to murder Brett led to strong efforts on their behalf, and it would have been wiser to reprieve the "Manchester Martyrs," whose execution (November 23, 1867) increased Irish hostility to Great Britain and strengthened Fenianism.

(7) The Clerkenwell explosion.

December 13, 1867. An attempt was made to free two Fenians by blowing up Clerkenwell prison, in which they were imprisoned. Sixty yards of wall were destroyed, twelve persons killed, and one hundred wounded.

D. The effect of these outrages.

These Fenian outrages, although unsuccessful, had an important political result. They compelled people to realise "the vast importance of the Irish controversy" (Gladstone), made Gladstone see the need of a new method of treating Ireland, and thus brought the Irish Question within the range of practical politics.

II. The Disestablishment of the Irish Church.

A. The position of the Established Church in Ireland.

The Established Church was the church of a minority in Ireland, including only about ten¹ per cent of the population generally, and only twenty per cent even in Ulster. Although the settlement of the Tithe question had led to better relations between Roman Catholics and Anglicans, and although the differences between the latter and the Ulster Presbyterians had been modified, yet the Established Church in Ireland was an "alien church" (Disraeli), the Protestant ascendancy remained the chief means of ensuring the connection between Great Britain and Ireland, and the Irish Church Question "embitters every other question, even the land question is exasperated by it" (Manning).

¹ The estimates vary from eight to twelve per cent.

Gladstone adopted the settlement of the Irish Question as his first object, and thus deprived the Conservatives of any advantage they had secured by carrying the Reform Bill of 1867. The Irish Question united the Liberal Party.

B. Preliminary discussions in Parliament.

(1) **March, 1865.** Gladstone, although considering the question of the disestablishment of the Irish Church as "apparently out of all bearing on the practical politics of the day," declared, while speaking to a motion of Mr. Dillwyn, M.P. for Swansea, that the Anglican Church in Ireland was a failure as a missionary church.

Owing to his action Gladstone lost his seat for Oxford University. He was elected July, 1865, M.P. for South Lancashire.

(2) **March, 1868.** Gladstone, influenced by the Fenian outrages, brought forward resolutions affirming the necessity of disestablishing the Irish Church, of preventing the creation of new interests, of vesting in Parliament the control of the temporalities of the Church.

His policy was supported by Roman Catholics, Protestant Nonconformists, Radicals, Irish Nationalists, and by some of the English High Church party who objected to the evangelical tendency of the Irish Church.

Stanley's amendment, which did not deny the need of some alteration, but asserted the desirability of postponing the question, was lost.

April, 1868. Gladstone's first resolution was carried

C. The Bill.

March 1, 1869. Gladstone (now Prime Minister and M.P. for Greenwich), in one of his finest speeches, introduced his Bill for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, which provided—

- (1) The Church to be disestablished on January 1, 1871, ecclesiastical courts abolished, and the Irish clergy to be given time to constitute voluntary synods; bishops to be elected by diocesan synods and the Primate by bishops; boards of nomination to dispense ecclesiastical patronage.
- (2) Of the property of the Irish Church (valued at £16,000,000) £5,000,000 to be given as compensation to incumbents, £1,700,000 to curates, and £9,000,000 to be used for the relief of suffering not helped by the Poor Law.

The Church to keep all private endowments received since A.D. 1660, but the Maynooth grant (page 795), and the Regium Donum, a grant to Presbyterians, to be abolished.

D. Criticism and opposition.

- (1) The Bill aroused strong opposition. The Conservatives and Irish Anglicans considered that it weakened the Protestant supremacy, the union of Church and State, and the rights of property. It was said to be the work of "a Cabinet of brigands."
- (2) It was incompatible with the Act of Union, but that Act, like all statutes, is subject to repeal by Parliament.
- (3) The Earl of Derby and Magee (an eloquent Irishman, Bishop of Peterborough) led the opposition of the Lords, who failed to postpone the date of disestablishment, to secure concurrent endowment, and to reserve for the Church endowments received since the second year of Queen Elizabeth, but succeeded in securing £850,000 more for the Church, and in vesting in Parliament the disposal of the surplus.
- (4) The opposition of the Lords seemed likely to lead to a constitutional crisis, but the Queen, although she "deplored the necessity of raising the question" of disestablishment, helped to bring about a compromise,

and the Bill, with the two amendments of the Lords, was passed by both Houses, and received the Royal Assent July 26, 1869.

(5) Disraeli's famous criticism: "We have legalised confiscation, we have consecrated sacrilege, we have condemned treason, we have destroyed churches."

III. The Land Question.

A. Conditions of land tenure.

- (1) The Irish farmers were usually tenants-at-will, subject to six months' notice, without any right to compensation for the improvements they had made. Great competition for land led to an increase in rents, which were often too heavy for the tenant to pay. Evictions were therefore frequent.
- (2) The Irish landlords let their land but not buildings. The tenant erected and maintained buildings which, on the termination of the tenancy, became the property of the landlord.
- (3) Many of the Irish landlords were "absentees," they owed their land to comparatively recent conquest and confiscation, and were generally Protestants. The bitter animosity between landlord and tenant led to a "land war," agrarian discontent became the chief element in Irish dissatisfaction, and the difficulty was aggravated by ignorance of British statesmen (e.g. Palmerston, page 887) of the actual conditions of Ireland.

But the root of the difficulty lay not so much in the injustice of the landlords as in the iniquitous system of land tenure which neither Fenianism nor the Disestablishment of the Irish Church improved.

B. The Encumbered Estates Act, 1849.

This Act facilitated the sale of lands by insolvent landlords, and about one-eighth of the land changed hands. But the purchasers, whose sole object was their own profit, bought the tenants' improvements as

well as the land, and no allowance was made for customs which had often mitigated the hardships of the tenant.

Thus the Act failed to improve the position of the tenant, and strengthened the demand for the three "F's," fixity of tenure, freedom of sale of tenant rights, and fair rent.

C. Ulster tenant right.

In Ulster there was a custom, not a legal obligation, that the tenant should not be evicted as long as he paid his rent, and that, on relinquishing his tenancy, he should receive compensation for the improvements he had made.

D. The Irish Land Act, 1870.

- (1) February 15, 1870. Gladstone, realising that security of tenure was necessary, brought in a Bill which legalized Ulster Tenant Right. It ensured compensation to a tenant for unjust eviction, and for improvements by which he had increased the value of the property, and provided facilities for advancing loans to tenants who wished to purchase their holdings.
- (2) The Act, a striking example of the adaptation of law to custom, put an end to the absolute right of the landlord, and asserted the principle that the tenure of Irish land rests not on individual ownership but on partnership of landlord and tenant.
- (3) It did not protect the tenant against excessive rent; the dual ownership led to many quarrels, and evictions increased in number.
- (4) It did not ensure peace in Ireland.

It was hoped that the Act would prevent the disorder which had caused the Habeas Corpus Act to be suspended in Ireland four times in 1866-8, but it was found necessary to pass the Peace Preservation Act (April 4, 1870) and the Westmeath Act (1871), which strengthened the authority of magistrates, and extended their powers of arresting suspected persons.

IV. The Irish University Bill, 1873.**A. University education in Ireland.**

- (1) The Queen's Colleges at Cork and Belfast, Trinity College, Dublin (a Protestant foundation controlling the University of Dublin), and a privately endowed Roman Catholic University alone afforded university education, which was clearly inadequate.
- (2) The Roman Catholics refused to attend the "godless" Queen's Colleges (page 795) or Trinity College, which had been thrown open to Roman Catholics in 1794. They demanded a Roman Catholic university, with denominational teaching, publicly endowed, and similar to Trinity College.

B. The Bill.

February, 1873. The Bill was introduced by Gladstone in a magnificent speech which would probably have ensured its passage if an immediate vote could have been taken.

- (1) The University of Dublin to be separated from Trinity College, which, together with the Queen's Colleges and the Roman Catholic University, was to be affiliated to it. The University was to receive £12,000 a year from Trinity College and grants from the surplus ecclesiastical funds and the consolidated funds. The University was to be a teaching as well as an examining body, but, to avoid religious difficulties, modern history, theology, and philosophy were not to be taught, and a professor who offended the religious scruples of any student was to be liable to punishment.
- (2) Affiliated colleges to manage their internal affairs and to make provision for denominational religious teaching if they desired.

C. The rejection of the Bill.

- (1) The Bill pleased no one. The supporters of Trinity College objected to the alienation of its revenues and the

weakening of its position. Nonconformists and academic Liberals objected to any form of denominational endowment. Roman Catholics objected to "mixed education," and desired a separate endowment. Many objected to the "gagging clauses," which limited the range of subjects and the freedom of speech of the professors.

(2) Disraeli strongly opposed the Bill and denounced Gladstone's "policy of confiscation." A combination of Roman Catholics, Conservatives, and moderate Liberals frightened by Gladstone's vigorous policy of reform, rejected the Bill by three votes.

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GLADSTONE'S FIRST MINISTRY
DECEMBER 5, 1868, TO FEBRUARY, 1874

DOMESTIC POLICY

Prime Minister, W. E. Gladstone; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Robert Lowe, till August, 1873, then Gladstone; Foreign Secretary, Earl of Clarendon, to June, 1870, then Earl Granville; Secretary for War, Edward Cardwell.

I. 1869. *Disestablishment of the Irish Church* (page 890).
 II. 1870. *Irish Land Act* (page 893).
 III. 1870. *The Elementary Education Act* (page 1046).

IV. The Endowed Schools Act, 1869.

Up to 1860 English secondary education had been bad. Special importance was attached to classics; modern languages, history, and science were neglected; endowments were not used to the best advantage. The Public Schools Act, 1868, had revised the governing bodies of the seven great public schools (Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, Harrow, Rugby, and Shrewsbury). The Endowed Schools Act improved middle-class education by appointing three Commissioners to revise the trust deeds of schools, and by facilitating the use of obsolete charities for educational purposes. The powers of the three Commissioners were transferred to the Charity Commissioners in 1874.

V. Civil Service Reform.

June, 1870. By an Order in Council all public offices in the Civil Service, except those of the Foreign Office, were thrown open to public competition.

VI. Army Reform.

The success of the Prussian army in the Danish, Austrian, and Franco-Prussian wars, and the fear, entertained by some, that Germany might attack Great Britain, strengthened a movement in favour of army reform. Under the old system the Commander-in-Chief was independent of the Secretary for War, commissions were purchased, service was long. A radical change was made in two years by Edward Cardwell (Viscount Cardwell, 1874), the founder of the modern British Army.

A. The Secretary of State for War.

- (1) The Commander-in-Chief, hitherto appointed for life and exercising independent authority at the Horse Guards, retained the command of the forces, but was now made subordinate to the Secretary of State for War, and moved his quarters to the War Office, in which the control of the Army was vested.

- a. Thus the supremacy of Parliament, acting through the Secretary, over the Army was recognised, but the interference of Parliament with the internal economy of the Army (and Navy) is usually limited to cases of abuse, and in such cases the necessary investigation is generally made by a Royal Commission reporting to the Crown.
- β. This change was made by royal prerogative, not by Act of Parliament.

(2) The War Office Act, June 20, 1870—

Divided the War Office into three departments; those of the Commander-in-Chief, the Surveyor-General of Ordnance, and the Financial Secretary.

B. The Army Enlistment Act, 1870.

Enlistment to be normally for twelve years, six with the colours and six with the reserve, but enlistment for three years was also allowed.

- a. The principle of short service was thus finally adopted.
- β. A competent reserve was established, between which and the Army a close connection was ensured.
- γ. The Act was passed without much difficulty, although some held that the resulting diminution in the number of veterans would impair the efficiency of the forces.

C. The Army Regulation Bill, 1871—

Aimed at the establishment of a small army raised by voluntary enlistment and available for foreign service.

- (1) The army to be increased by the addition of 20,000 men to 497,000 men.
- (2) The country to be divided into military districts each with its central barracks occupied by home battalions of local regiments and, during training by the militia.

(3) The authority over the auxiliary forces transferred from the Lords Lieutenant to the War Office.

(4) The abolition of the purchase of commissions.

The sale of commissions had been authorised by royal warrant, and the scale of prices was fixed. But higher prices were always given, and commissions had become vested interests, and were regarded as personal property. This system did not tend, in spite of conspicuous exceptions, to secure competent officers, but its abolition was strongly opposed by the Army, although liberal compensation covering the over-regulation prices was offered.

July 4, 1871. The Bill passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords.

July 20, 1871. The Queen, on Gladstone's advice, abolished the purchase of commissions by royal warrant.

a. Her act was "within the undoubted power of the Crown" (Roundell Palmer), and a system which had been authorised by royal warrant was terminated by the same means.

β . But Gladstone's action was strongly resented as unprecedented or unworthy by many Liberals (notably Fawcett), and was denounced by Disraeli as "a shameful conspiracy against the rights of the Upper House."

The Lords passed the Bill in order to ensure compensation to officers who had purchased their commissions.

D. Cardwell found the Army inefficient, aristocratic, and expensive. He made it efficient, national and cheap, and one of the many improvements he effected was a marked increase in the efficiency of regimental officers.

VII. Abolition of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, 1871.

The Bill had become a dead letter, and its abolition attracted little attention.

VIII. Lowe's Budget, 1871.

He proposed to increase the succession duty and to obtain *ex luce lucellum* by imposing a tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a box on matches. Strong opposition to Lowe's taxes. Demonstration of Bryant and May's match girls against the tax. The taxes withdrawn, and twopence added to the income tax.

IX. The Trades Union Act (page 1022), 1871.**X. The Ballot Act, 1872.**

A. There had been strong opposition to the ballot, which Mill denounced as "unmanly." The Whigs held that the suffrage was a public trust, and that public voting was necessary to see that it was properly fulfilled. But open voting had led to bribery and intimidation, and the public nomination of candidates on the hustings caused frequent riots.

B. Forster's Bill proposed—

- (1) That voting at parliamentary elections should be by ballot;
- (2) That candidates should no longer be publicly nominated on the hustings.

C. The Bill has weakened "the illegitimate influence of landlord and employer," and diminished the bribery of electors and disturbances at elections. But it has not stopped indirect bribery in the shape of indiscriminate subscriptions to local institutions of every kind.

[1872. Foundation of the Agricultural Labourers' Union by Joseph Arch.]

XI. The Licensing Act, 1872—

Gave to the magistrates the right of granting licences, checked adulteration, fixed the hours of closing public houses at eleven for the country and twelve for London.

The Bill was introduced by Mr. Bruce, the Home Secretary, and proved a useful and effectual measure of

reform, but displeased the temperance party, who thought it too lenient, and the licensed victuallers, who thought it too stringent and protested against "robbing a poor man of his beer."

XII. Two Unfortunate Appointments, 1872.

A. "The Colliery explosion."

Sir Robert Collier, Attorney-General, made a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, for which only judges of the Supreme Court were eligible. To qualify him for membership of the Judicial Committee, Collier was appointed a Judge of the Common Pleas, and held his judgeship for only two or three days.

B. The "Ewelme Scandal."

Mr. Harvey, a Cambridge graduate, who had been admitted to the Convocation of Oxford to qualify him for the post, was nominated by the Crown to the living of Ewelme, for which only Oxford men were eligible.

Both gentlemen were eminently qualified for their new posts, but the method of their appointment was singularly unfortunate.

XIII. Rejection of the Irish University Bill, 1873 (page 894).

March 13, 1873. Resignation of Gladstone. Refusal of Disraeli to take office, on the ground that the question was not of first-rate importance.

March 18. Gladstone resumed office.

- (1) Disraeli was unwilling to take office with a Liberal majority in the Commons.
- (2) A party ought generally to take office instead of a government it has defeated. If it does not its opposition tends to become irresponsible and factious. But the division was very close, and Disraeli knew that although a number of Liberals had voted in the majority, he would not be able to count on their support if he took office.

(3) The Government was seriously discredited, and it is most undesirable that a discredited government should continue in office.

XIV. The Supreme Court of Judicature Act, April, 1873.

A The Act was the work of the Earl of Selborne (Roundell Palmer), appointed Lord Chancellor, 1872.

- (1) The Act established one Supreme Court of Judicature, divided into a High Court of Justice and a Court of Appeal.
- (2) The Courts of Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, Exchequer, Chancery, Admiralty, and Probate and Divorce, formerly independent, were kept as divisions of the High Court of Justice.
- (3) Representatives of the old Courts of Appeal (the Court of Exchequer Chamber, the Court of Appeal in Chancery, the House of Lords, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council) were admitted to the new Court of Appeal, whose decisions were to be final.
- (4) All judges were empowered to administer equity as well as law.

B. Criticism.

- (1) The Act rendered great service in consolidating the administration of justice and terminating the separate administration of law and equity.
- (2) But Selborne's attempt to abolish double appeals was not completely successful, and in 1876 further appeal was allowed to a Committee of the House of Lords, which included the Lord Chancellor, two Lords of Appeal holding life peerages, and peers who had been lawyers.

XV. The Resignation of the Ministry.

A. The income tax.

1874. The great financial prosperity of the country enabled Gladstone to promise a repeal of the income tax.

- a. This is sometimes regarded as an attempt to bribe the electors, but—
- β. Gladstone had always objected to a permanent income tax, and in 1853 had expressed his intention to abolish it in 1860. The abolition would not affect most of the working classes, and the burden of a tax of 2d. in the £ was very light.
- B. February 17, 1874. Resignation of the ministry because Cardwell and Goshen objected to Gladstone's proposed reduction of expenditure on the Army and Navy.

XVI. General Criticism.

- A. Gladstone's first ministry was the climax of Liberalism. It gave full expression for the first time to Liberal principles, which the "Palmerstonian tradition of inaction" had checked. Gladstone's policy of active reform had united his party, and owing to this union the "clean-cut dualism" between two great parties became the leading feature in English politics, and to this the personal rivalry between Gladstone and Disraeli contributed.
- B. The ministry had become unpopular.
 - (1) The country was tired of reform, and the failures of its later years had impaired the prestige of the ministry whom, in 1872, Disraeli compared to "exhausted volcanoes."
 - (2) The Government had offended the landlords, the Army, the Church, the Nonconformists (by the Education Act), the working classes (by the Trades Union Act), the licensed victuallers. Its policy of "blundering and plundering" (Disraeli) had been marked by vigorous attacks on vested interests, and there was some justification for Disraeli's statements that it had "harassed every trade, worried every profession, and assailed or menaced every class, institution, and species of property in the country."

- (3) There was a general belief that British prestige had been lowered by the foreign policy of the Government.
- (4) Many regarded the use of the royal authority to abolish the purchase of commissions, the "Colliery explosion," the "Ewelme scandal," and the proposed repeal of the income tax as unworthy of a great party, and the ministry was discredited by the suspicion of somewhat sharp practice in these cases.
- (5) The difficulties of the Government were aggravated by the great unpopularity of "Bobby" Lowe, who possessed an unusual aptitude for giving offence, by differences within the Cabinet, and by the Queen's personal dislike of Gladstone whose somewhat awkward attempt to induce her to take a more active part in public functions gave her great offence.

C. But, in spite of its "unedifying close," the Government had done much. It had carried legislative measures of supreme importance, introduced bold administrative reforms, and done much to reconcile the middle classes, who had exercised supreme power since 1832, with the lower classes enfranchised in 1867. In spite of its faults it was "the most fruitful, and on the whole the most successful Liberal Ministry of the Queen's reign."

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THE FOREIGN POLICY OF GLADSTONE'S FIRST MINISTRY

The ministry had to deal with foreign questions of great complexity. It was hampered by the death of Lord Clarendon, a most efficient Foreign Secretary, in 1870; by the fact that his successor, Earl Granville, a man of much tact and great personal popularity, was hardly strong enough to deal with the problems

that arose; by Gladstone's preference for domestic legislation, and by his failure fully to appreciate the importance of foreign questions; by the Palmerstonian tradition which exalted foreign at the expense of domestic politics.

I. The Franco-Prussian War.

A. The French desired war with Prussia. Napoleon III was jealous of the prestige and afraid of the added strength Prussia had gained in the Danish and Austrian wars (page 852). He desired by military success to strengthen his own position in France, which had been weakened by the growth of the constitutional party and by his share in the unsuccessful expeditions to Mexico, 1862-7. He was assured by his War Minister, wrongly, that the French army was perfectly ready for war, and did not appreciate the effect of Moltke's reforms in reorganising the Prussian army. He hoped that the South German States, Austria and Italy would gladly help him to crush Prussia.

Some writers doubt whether Napoleon's personal responsibility was as great as is usually supposed, and emphasise the part played by the Empress, who hoped that victory over Prussia would ensure the succession of the Prince Imperial to the throne of France, and who, as a Spaniard, a Roman Catholic and a firm friend of Austria, was eager for war with Prussia.

B. The Spanish throne.

- (1) Revolution in Spain under Serrano and Prim. Deposition of Queen Isabella, September 29, 1868. In 1870 the Provisional Government, anxious to establish a constitutional monarchy, offered the throne to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen.
- (2) Leopold's candidature withdrawn by King William of Prussia, owing to strong protests from France.
- (3) Unreasonable demand of Napoleon that King William would never allow Hohenzollern to become King of Spain.

date for the throne of Spain. Great indignation at Berlin—further inflamed by Bismarck's dishonest action in publishing in an altered form the "Ems telegram" from the King of Prussia giving an account of his interview with the French ambassador. His alterations made a courteous message appear highly provocative.

July, 1870. Declaration of war.

War between France and Prussia was probably inevitable, but it was utterly unjustifiable on the nominal cause—the Spanish question.

C. The first period—to the Battle of Sedan.

- (1) The French determined to invade South Germany, in the hope that success would ensure the co-operation of the South German States, Austria and Italy. But, owing to its bad organisation, the French army failed to move with the necessary precision and rapidity.
- (2) The Germans, admirably organised, moved rapidly on the middle Rhine to check the French advance and to invade France.
- (3) August 6, 1870. The Crown Prince¹ routed McMahon at Wörth. Victory of Prince Frederick Charles, "the Red Prince," at Spicheren. Consequent advance of the Germans on Metz.
- (4) August 18, 1870. Victory of the Germans at Gravelotte. Marshal Bazaine shut up in Metz.
- (5) September 1, 1870. The Emperor Napoleon III and McMahon, trying to relieve Metz, utterly routed and compelled to surrender at Sedan.

September 4, 1870. Deposition of the Emperor. Appointment of a Committee of Public Defence. General Trochu, President, and M. Favre, Foreign Minister.

¹ Afterwards Emperor Frederick I.

D. The second period of the war.

- (1) September 20, 1870. The investiture of Paris completed.
- (2) Escape of Gambetta from Paris to Tours in a balloon
Relying on the detention of a large part of the
Prussian forces at Metz and Paris, he organised the
army of the Loire.
- (3) October 27, 1870. Ignominious surrender, due either
to treachery or incompetence, of Bazaine at Metz,
with 180,000 men. The besieging army released for
service elsewhere.
- (4) December 4, 1870. Defeat of the army of the Loire
at Orleans.
- (5) January 28, 1871. Surrender of Paris to the Germans.
- (6) The National Assembly.

February 12, 1871. Meeting of the National Assembly, under the Presidency of Grévy, at Bordeaux.

February 26, 1871. The Assembly concluded peace on the following terms:—

- a. The surrender of Alsace, including Strasburg, and Lorraine, including Metz, to Germany.
- β. The payment of a war indemnity of five milliards of francs.¹

The Champs Elysées occupied by 30,000 German troops for two days, as a sign of conquest.

March, 1871. Flight of Napoleon to England.

E. The Commune.

March, 1871. Seizure of Paris by insurgents joined by the National Guards. A Commune proclaimed. The Palais Royal and Hotel de Ville burnt and the Archbishop of Paris murdered by the insurgents.

¹ £200,000,000.

Paris bombarded by the French army, the "Versaillais." The Commune suppressed with great cruelty after 50,000 insurgents had been killed and property worth £32,000,000 destroyed.

F. Results of the war.

- (1) The establishment of the Third Republic. Thiers the first President.
- (2) January 18, 1871. King William of Prussia proclaimed German Emperor at Versailles. The German Empire a symbol of the union of Germany.
- (3) The French troops had been withdrawn from Rome owing to the war, and, September 20, 1870, the Italian troops occupied the city, which, with the exception of the Vatican, was incorporated in the kingdom of Italy.
- (4) 1873. Conclusion of an alliance between Austria, Germany, Russia, and Italy to prevent the French from regaining her lost provinces and taking vengeance on Germany.

G. Policy of Great Britain during the war.

- (1) British feeling was at first strongly hostile to France, which was regarded as the aggressor.¹ But later much sympathy was felt with France owing to her misfortunes, especially owing to the capture of Paris and the loss of Strasburg.
- (2) The Government adopted an attitude of strict neutrality, but offered friendly mediation.
 - a. It urged King William to withdraw his support from Leopold of Hohenzollern.
 - b. On the revelation by Bismarck of a treaty made between Prussia and France for the surrender of Belgium to the latter, Granville, August, 1870, concluded treaties with France and Prussia to secure the independence of Belgium.

¹ Gladstone spoke of the "deep culpability" of France.

- γ. Granville formed a "League of Neutrals" to prevent the extension of the war.
- δ. Granville's representations helped to secure the reduction of the war indemnity from six to five milliards of francs.
- (3) Both France and Germany thought they ought to have been treated differently by Great Britain. But mediation was rendered difficult by Bismarck's determination to secure territory and by Favre's assertion that France "would not cede a stone of her fortresses or an inch of her territory." By armed intervention alone could Great Britain have effected much, and armed intervention would have greatly extended the area of the war.

II. Russia and the Black Sea.

- A. Russia, taking advantage of the preoccupation of France and Germany, refused to accept any longer those clauses of the Treaty of Paris (page 827) which neutralised the Black Sea.
- B. Changed conditions made the maintenance of the clauses impossible, but it was also impossible to admit the right of any one party to a treaty to annul it without consent of the rest.
- C. March, 1871. A Conference in London arranged by Granville.
 - a. Asserted that no European treaty could be modified by the action of only one party to that treaty;
 - β. Cancelled the neutralisation of the Black Sea;
 - γ. Allowed Turkey to open the straits to the warships of friendly powers.
- (1) Lord Fitzmaurice maintains that the results of Granville's diplomacy were "first to compel Russia formally to sign a renunciation of her claim to tear up treaties, and, secondly, to give the command of the Black Sea to Turkey."

(2) It was generally thought that Great Britain had received a diplomatic rebuff. The question was very difficult, and, although probably the Government took the best course, it was unfortunate that no better course was possible.*

III. 1870. The Red River Expedition (page 987).

IV. The "Alabama" Arbitration.

A. There were serious points of difference between Great Britain and the United States.

(1) *The Alabama.*

The United States claimed damages for actual injury done to their shipping by the *Alabama*, and also for indirect losses due to the prolongation of the war and the loss of trade which they ascribed to the *Alabama*.

(2) Great Britain claimed damages from the United States for the Fenian raid into Canada (page 888).

(3) There were serious disputes as to the right of Americans to fish off the coast of British North America.

(4) The ownership of the island of St. Juan, near Vancouver, was in dispute. By the Treaty of Washington, May 8, 1871, it was agreed to refer the first three points to the arbitration of a tribunal of five at Geneva.

B. The Geneva Arbitration.

(1) The Americans demanded the acceptance of the principles that a neutral government was bound to "prevent the equipping within its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to carry on war against a Power with which it is at peace," and "not to allow belligerents to use its ports or waters." Great Britain accepted these principles as the basis of arbitration, although

* They had not been previously asserted and prejudiced the question at issue.

β. By the Foreign Enlistment Act, 1870, which forbade the equipment in the British Isles of a ship intended for use against a friendly power, Great Britain had shown her desire to avoid breaches of neutrality.

- (2) The British dropped the claim to damages for the Fenian raid.
- (3) The arbitrators refused to consider the American claim of damages for "indirect losses" caused by the *Alabama*.

C. The award, September 14, 1872.

- (1) Three and a quarter million pounds (one-third of the amount claimed) awarded to the United States for damage done to their shipping by three Confederate cruisers equipped in England.

a. Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, the British representative, protested against the award, which was probably wrong, except in the case of the *Alabama*

β. The United States Government experienced considerable difficulty in disposing of the money to recipients justly entitled to share it.

- (2) American fishermen received the right to fish off the coast of British North America.

This was regarded by Canadians as an unreasonable concession to the United States.

D. Criticism.

- (1) Strong objection was felt in England to the acceptance of the new principles as to the duties of neutrals, to the unfairness to Canada of the arrangement as to fishery, to the dropping of the claim for compensation for the Fenian raid. The award was regarded as unjust, and great disappointment was caused by the unfortunate result of the first appeal to arbitration.

(2) But although the Government gained great unpopularity owing to the award, it rendered valuable service by terminating the quarrel between Great Britain and the United States and averting war which had appeared likely. It afforded a valuable precedent by accepting arbitration as a means of settling disputes between nations.

V. The Ashantee War, 1873-4.

1872. Great Britain obtained the Gold Coast from the Dutch in exchange for British claims in Sumatra.

1873. War broke out with King Coffee Calcalli of Ashantee, who resented the imposition of British customs on goods going into Ashantee and attacked the Fantees, who were under British protection. Sir Garnet Wolseley conducted the campaign with conspicuous gallantry and success, and King Coffee submitted after the capture of Coomassie (February 4, 1874), and agreed to abolish human sacrifices.

VI. General.

The Government had done its best under most difficult circumstances. But its foreign policy suffered by comparison with Palmerston's successful aggression. It was thought to be weak and awkwardly managed, and the feeling that British prestige had been impaired was an important cause of the defeat of the Liberals in the election of 1874.

References :

- A. *Modern Europe*, by Phillips, chap. xvii. (Rivingtons.)
- Bismarck*, by Birsch, chaps. I.-x. (Macmillan.)
- Life of Lord Granville*, by Fitzmaurice, chaps. II. and III.
- Political History of England*, by Low and Sandars, pp. 261-9.
- The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, Vol. III, chap. I.
- British Foreign Policy, 1815-1933*, by Edwards (Methuen) chap. VI.

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DISRAELI'S SECOND MINISTRY, FEBRUARY, 1874, TO APRIL, 1880

Prime Minister, Disraeli (Earl of Beaconsfield, August, 1876); Home Secretary, Richard Assheton Cross; Foreign Secretary Earl of Derby till March, 1878, then Marquis of Salisbury; Secretary for India, Marquis of Salisbury till April, 1878.

Disraeli's position was very strong. He had a majority of at least fifty in the Commons without Irish support, a large majority in the Lords, and a most able Cabinet. He was hampered by no special mandate, and popular feeling favoured a limitation of domestic legislation. He enjoyed the firm friendship of the Queen. The merchants and employers of labour, hitherto Liberal, were beginning to favour the Conservatives owing to the growing dependence of the Liberals upon the working classes. The Liberal party was discredited by the result of the general election and greatly weakened by Gladstone's resignation of the leadership, January, 1875, and by the failure of his successor, Hartington, to control his party or to initiate a strong policy.

I. Domestic Policy.

The domestic legislation of this ministry was limited and did not, as a rule, reverse the work of the previous ministry. It was largely due to the Home Secretary Mr. Cross.

1874. The Scotch Church Patronage Bill vested private patronage in the congregation and thus practically justified the policy of those who had seceded in 1843 (page 1035).
1874. The Public Worship Regulation Act aimed at suppressing ritualism in the Church of England (page 1033) but proved ineffective.
1874. The Licensing Act Amending Bill fixed the closing time for London at 11.30, "populous places" at 11.0, and country places at 10.0 p.m.

1875. Mr. Cross' Public Health Act consolidated previous statutes; his Artisans' Dwelling Act empowered the corporations of towns of more than 25,000 inhabitants to purchase land for the erection of artisans' dwellings; his Employers and Workmen Act made breaches of contract (which did not endanger public health or safety) civil and not criminal cases, allowed peaceful picketing, and limited the application of the law of conspiracy to trade disputes.

1876. Restoration of its Appellate Jurisdiction to the House of Lords.

1876. The Merchant Shipping Act protected seamen.
 [Growth of the Irish Home Rule party and development of Parliamentary obstruction.]

II. Foreign Policy.

Disraeli wished to make the influence of Great Britain (apparently weakened by Gladstone's ministry) supreme in Europe and to consolidate and extend our Colonial Empire. His ministry is marked by a vigorous foreign policy in which the chief features are the development of Imperialism and opposition to Russia, which Disraeli regarded as a dangerous rival.

A Egypt (page 933).

(1) November, 1875. Purchase by the British Government for £4,000,000 of the Khedive Ismail's shares in the Suez Canal which amounted to about half of the total number.

- a. By this purchase Great Britain secured control of the road to India and
- β. Was committed to an active interest in Egypt.

(2) 1876. Establishment of the Dual Control.

Thus Disraeli is largely responsible for the beginning of the policy which has made Egypt a British dependency.

B. The Russo-Turkish War.

(1) The rebellion of the Balkan States.

(a) Turkey had not carried out the reforms prescribed by the Treaty of Paris, 1856 (page 827); the country was on the verge of bankruptcy; the Christians were treated with great cruelty; there was a growing tendency, favoured by Russia, for the Slavs to unite against Turkey; Russia had resumed her efforts to protect the Christian subjects of the Sultan.

(b) 1875. Rebellion of Bosnia and Herzegovina owing to heavy taxation.

(c) December 30, 1875. The Andrassy Note (issued by Russia, Germany, and Austria) demanded an armistice and the appointment of a mixed tribunal of Christians and Mohammedans to reform abuses; threatened armed intervention if reforms were not carried out.

a. The Czar seemed anxious to work in agreement with the other powers for the protection of Christians in Turkey.

β . Disraeli was unwilling to accept the Note because Great Britain had not been consulted. Derby, an ardent supporter of peace, objected to war-like intervention; Disraeli was suspicious of the intentions of Russia.

γ . Disraeli accepted the Andrassy Note with reluctance in January 1876. His action weakened the concert of Europe, aggravated the enmity between Russia and Great Britain, and probably led the Turks to expect British support.

(d) May, 1876. Rebellion of Bulgaria.

(e) July, 1876. Rebellion, with unofficial help of Russian volunteers, of Servia and Montenegro.

(2) Opinion in England.

(a) June 23, 1876. Publication by the *Daily News* of particulars of outrages on Bulgarians by Turkish irregular troops, who had destroyed sixty villages and

slaughtered thousands of innocent people. The account confirmed in September by Walter Baring, dispatched by the Government to investigate. He stated that twelve hundred Bulgarians who had surrendered on condition that their lives should be spared had been burned in their village church by the Turks.

September 6, 1876. Publication of Gladstone's pamphlet on the "Bulgarian Horrors," in which he advocated the expulsion of the Turks "bag and baggage"¹ from Bulgaria. Growing feeling in England in favour of the coercion of Turkey by the European powers.

(b) Disraeli asserted that his main object was "to maintain the Empire of England." He regarded the growing power of Russia as a grave danger to the British Empire and wished to maintain the integrity of Turkey (in spite of the failure to carry out the reforms required by the Treaty of Paris) as a check on Russia. He did not believe in the pacific intentions of the Czar, and at the Lord Mayor's banquet, November, 1876, he declared that, while he wished to maintain peace, no country was as well prepared for war as Great Britain. Disraeli's attitude gained a considerable measure of support in the country, but

(c) an important section of the Cabinet, especially Carnarvon and Derby, strongly objected to war with Russia on behalf of Turkey.

(3) Failure of joint action.

(a) January, 1877. Refusal of the Turks, who had just adopted a new and more liberal constitution, to accept the terms offered by a Conference of the Powers at Constantinople because they included the appointment of an international commission to carry out reforms in Turkey.

¹ The phrase "bag and baggage" had been previously used by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.

(b) March, 1877. The London Protocol, due largely to the influence of the Czar, asserted the determination of the Powers to see if the reforms promised by the Turks had been carried out.

April, 1877. The Turks, possibly relying upon Disraeli's sympathy, repudiated the London Protocol and thus defied the Powers. Therefore—

(c) April 24, 1877. Russia declared war against Turkey.

- a. The Powers had failed and the Czar resolved upon independent action.
- β. The action of the Czar was contrary to the Declaration of London, 1871 (page 908) and greatly increased Disraeli's suspicions of his intentions.

(4) The war.

(a) Russian successes.

December 10, 1877. Surrender to General Todleben, the hero of Sebastopol, of the Turks at Plevna, which had been gallantly defended by Osman Pasha.

January 10, 1878. The Russians, after heavy fighting, forced the Shipka Pass.

January 20, 1878. Capture of Adrianople by the Russians.

March 3, 1878. Russia concluded the Treaty of San Stefano with Turkey.

- a. Turkey to pay an indemnity of £12,000,000.
- β. Servia, Roumania, Montenegro to be independent states, and Bulgaria made a tributary principality.
- γ. Bosnia and Herzegovina to remain dependent on Austria but to receive Home Rule.
- δ. Russia to set Batoum, Kars, and Bessarabia.

(b) Great Britain and Russia.

The Liberals strongly objected to the idea of fighting Russia on behalf of Turkey, but Disraeli, fearing that Russia would use the advantage she had secured in the war to extend her authority in the East, determined, in spite of considerable opposition from some of the Cabinet, to make preparations in case war should break out, although he acknowledged that the neutrality of Great Britain had not been threatened. Outbreak of jingoism¹ in England. £6,000,000 voted by Parliament for military and naval purposes.

January 23, 1877. The British fleet sent from Besika Bay to the Dardanelles.

a. Resignation of Carnarvon and of Derby, who held that only the danger of a Russian attack on Constantinople, the Suez Canal, or Egypt would justify Great Britain in going to war. The latter withdrew his resignation.

β. The fleet speedily recalled to Besika Bay.

February 13, 1877. The British fleet sent to the Sea of Marmora without the permission of the Porte, to protect British subjects in Constantinople. Lord Napier of Magdala appointed Commander-in-Chief and Sir Garnet Wolseley appointed Chief of his staff.

March 3, 1878. The tension was relieved by the Treaty of San Stefano, which was moderate, threatened no British interests, and did not attempt to secure Constantinople for Russia. But Derby demanded that the treaty be referred for sanction to the Powers because it altered the Treaty of Paris to which they had agreed. This demand was resented by Russia, and Disraeli therefore

¹ "Jingoism" owed its name to a music-hall song:—

" We don't want to fight,
But, by Jingo, if we do,
We've got the men, we've got the ships,
And we've got the money too."

March, 1878. Called out the Reserves and determined to seize a port in Syria to guard the road to India. Consequent resignation of Derby, whose successor at the Foreign Office, Salisbury, maintained his demand for a European Congress.

April 17, 1878. Seven thousand Indian troops sent to Malta.

- a. The dispatch of the Indian troops (who were paid by the Indian Government) to Malta, like the sending of the fleet to the Sea of Marmora and the mobilisation of the Reserves, had been carried out without parliamentary sanction and formed part of the "policy of surprises" for which Disraeli was blamed.
- β. It was maintained that this action was unconstitutional because it made the number of British soldiers employed in Europe greater than that sanctioned by the Mutiny Act, and because parliamentary approval was necessary for the use of Indian revenue to defray the cost of military operations outside India.
- γ. Disraeli maintained that as the Indian army was under the control of the Crown he was justified in using the authority of the Crown to dispatch the troops to Malta.

(b) The Treaty of Berlin, July 13, 1878.

(a) Largely owing to the attitude of Beaconsfield and Salisbury the Treaty of San Stefano was referred for consideration to a European Congress, which met on June 13, 1878, at Berlin, under the presidency of Prince Bismarck, and which Beaconsfield and Salisbury attended as plenipotentiaries of Great Britain. The Congress drew up the Treaty of Berlin, which provided—

- a. That Northern Bulgaria should be independent, and that Southern Bulgaria, under the name of Roumelia, should remain subject to Turkey, while receiving a large measure of self-government.
 - 1. Thus Gladstone's "bag and baggage" policy was adopted, and "eleven millions of people, formerly under Turkish rule, were entirely exempted from the yoke."
 - 2. It was assumed that Russian influence would be supreme in Bulgaria, and Beaconsfield claimed that by limiting its area he had lessened the danger of the growth of Russian influence in the Near East.
 - 3. But Roumelia was united to Bulgaria in 1885, and Russian influence did not become supreme.
- β. That Servia, Montenegro, and Roumania should be independent states.
- γ. That Bosnia and Herzegovina should receive self-government under the suzerainty of Austria.
- δ. That Russia should get Batoum and Kars.
- ε. That Roumania should cede Bessarabia to Russia and receive the Dobrudscha¹ in exchange.

This was an important modification of the Treaty of Paris by which Bessarabia had been taken from Russia.
- Ϛ. Great Britain received Cyprus on condition of paying tribute to the Sultan
 - 1. Bismarck would have acquiesced in the cession of Egypt to Great Britain. Beaconsfield refused to accept Egypt. The cession of Egypt could hardly

¹ The north-east corner of Bulgaria.

have been justified on the ground of public morality, and would probably have aroused the strong opposition of France. But France might have been conciliated if Great Britain had agreed to the extension of French authority in Tunis, and the establishment of British authority in Egypt would have saved the country from much of the trouble of following years (page 933).

2. The idea of paying tribute to the Sultan was distasteful to many Englishmen

η Greece, which had not gone to war with Turkey, got nothing. Her demand for Thessaly (which had risen against Turkey, January, 1878) and Epirus rejected, partly because Beaconsfield was unwilling further to weaken Turkey.

(b) Peace with honour.

Beaconsfield claimed that he had secured for Great Britain "Peace with honour," and his estimate of the value of his work was at first accepted. But

a. Although he had apparently negatived Russia's right of individual intervention in Turkey and compelled her to acknowledge the supreme authority of the Powers, yet his triumph was only apparent. The questions at issue had been practically settled in May by secret treaties between Great Britain and Russia and between Great Britain and Turkey, and thus the Congress of Berlin was really only a court of registration.

1. Beaconsfield had compelled Russia to agree to the division of Bulgaria, but this arrangement lasted only seven years.

2. In return for Cyprus he had agreed to protect the Turkish possessions in Asia,

and had undertaken to protect the Armenian Christians. But the "Armenian massacres" of 1896 showed the ineffectiveness of this arrangement.

3. The Government refused to admit the existence of the secret treaty with Russia. It was revealed by the treachery of a Government official, who gave particulars of the treaty to the *Globe*, which published it June 14, 1878.
4. Beaconsfield had tried to make Great Britain a predominant power in Europe, and claimed that by weakening Russia he had furthered the interests of the British Empire. But
 1. It is very doubtful whether active participation in European politics is to the advantage of Great Britain.
 2. The Treaty of Berlin "diverted Russian activity from the Bosphorus towards the frontier of Afghanistan and India" and added to the difficulty of the question of the North-West Frontier.
5. Beaconsfield had maintained that the interests of Great Britain required the maintenance of the integrity of the Turkish Empire, but the Treaty of Berlin greatly weakened the power of Turkey.
6. There is some justification for Gladstone's criticism: "I affirm that it was their¹ part to take the side of liberty; and I also affirm that as a matter of fact they took the side of servitude." But by weakening the authority of Turkey in the Balkan States the treaty gave freedom to eleven millions of people. It would have better served the cause of freedom if it had weakened that authority still more.

¹ Beaconsfield and Salisbury.

III. India.

A. 1875-6. The visit of the Prince of Wales, who was enthusiastically received, strengthened the connection of Great Britain and India.

B. 1876. The Royal Titles Bill conferred on the Queen the title of Empress of India.

- (1) Many regarded the idea as theatrical, and denied that the additional title added to the dignity of the Queen.
- (2) But the natives, among whom the tradition of the Mogul Empire remained, welcomed the new arrangement, and the proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India at a magnificent durbar at Delhi (1877) was the signal for a remarkable exhibition of loyalty on the part of the native princes.
- (3) Disraeli's action strengthened the friendship the Queen felt for him.

C. Afghanistan.

(1) For many years Great Britain had followed a policy of "masterly inactivity" on the North-West Frontier, largely owing to the influence of Lord Lawrence (Viceroy 1863-9), who regarded the Indus as the boundary of British India, and, while striving to maintain friendly relations with Afghanistan, refused to interfere in its internal affairs or to guarantee unconditional assistance against Russian aggression. Lords Mayo (Viceroy 1869-72) and Northbrook (Viceroy 1872-5) adopted the same policy.

(2) The growth of Russian power in Turkestan led Lord Lytton (1876-80) to adopt the "forward policy" advocated by Sir Bartle Frere. This involved—

- a. The establishment of agents in Afghanistan to maintain British and check Russian influence.

β. The recognition of the Hindoo Koosh Mountains as the boundary, and the control of the passes by Great Britain.

December, 1876. The first step was taken by the acquisition from the Khan of Khelat of Quetta, commanding the Bolan Pass.

The Russians sent an envoy to Cabul as a protest against the dispatch of Indian troops to Malta (page 918). A British embassy was sent (September, 1878) under Sir Neville Chamberlain to demand that the Amir Shere Ali, a son of Dost Mahommed, should receive a British agent. Shere Ali refused, because his authority would be limited by the presence of a British agent whom he would be unable to protect from violence.

(3) Second Afghan War.

November, 1878. Invasion of Afghanistan, flight of Shere Ali, recognition by Great Britain of his son Yakoob Khan, who, by the Treaty of Gandamak (June, 1879), undertook, in return for British support against Russia, to—

- a.** Accept a British agent at Cabul;
- β.** To allow Great Britain to control his foreign policy;
- γ.** To give the Indian Government the control of the Khyber Pass.

(4) Third Afghan War.

September 3, 1879. Murder of Sir Louis Cavagnari, the British agent, at Cabul.

October, 1879. March of General Roberts to Cabul and General Stewart to Candahar.

The advance of the British, conducted with great ability, was facilitated by the rapid construction, under the superintendence of Sir Richard Temple, of a railway from the Indus to the Bolan Pass.

April 19, 1880. Stewart routed Yakoob Khan at Ahmed Kiel, one of the great battles of British India.

[The Liberal Government abandoned the "forward policy," dropped the demand for the appointment of British agents, recognised Abdur Rahman (a nephew of Shere Ali who, during a long exile in Russian territory, had learned to distrust Russia) as Amir of the whole of Afghanistan, which the Conservatives had proposed to divide.

Shere Ali's younger son Ayoub refused to submit, marched on Candahar, and (July 27, 1880), routed General Burrows at Maiwand.

August 31, 1880. Roberts relieved Candahar and routed Ayoub at Mazra September 1. Withdrawal of British troops from Afghanistan, of which Abdur Rahman became undisputed master after defeating Ayoub.]

IV. South Africa.

- A. April 12, 1877. Annexation of the Transvaal (page 1005).
- B. 1879. The Zulu War January, Isandhlwana; July Ulundi.

V. General.

- A. In 1874 the country was tired of Gladstone's vigorous home policy, and Disraeli's refusal to introduce large measures of domestic reform was thoroughly justified, except in the case of Ireland. He had asserted the need of settling the Irish Question, but failed to bring forward any adequate measures for dealing with it.
- B. Disraeli's foreign policy was based upon his desire to maintain the British Empire. The Liberals had failed to appreciate the importance of the Colonies, and had not upheld the dignity of Great Britain in her relation to foreign states. But, although in theory Disraeli proved the pioneer of Imperialism, he did little to strengthen the Empire, and under his administration "Imperialism was vulgarised by Jingoism."

- (1) Owing to his attitude the Colonies received greater attention, but he did not unite them more closely to Great Britain.
- (2) He had succeeded in settling the Eastern Question, but failed in his attempt to maintain the integrity of Turkey ; he did not appreciate the appalling results that would have followed a war between Great Britain and Russia, and his policy aggravated the ill-feeling between the two nations.
- (3) The "forward policy" in Afghanistan, of which he approved, was unsuccessful.
- (4) His purchase of the Suez Canal shares was wise, but he feared to take the bold measures necessary for the settlement of the Egyptian Question.
- (5) The annexation of the Transvaal was ill-considered and premature.

The net results of his policy (the acquisition of Cyprus, the Queen's new title of "Empress of India," and the conquest of Zululand) were inadequate.

C. His ministry fell because of the unpopularity and heavy expense of the Afghan and Zulu wars (he had "plunged the country into a series of deficits"—Gladstone), the commercial and agricultural depression of 1879 for which he was unjustly blamed, and the remarkable success of the Midlothian campaign (November and December, 1879), in which Gladstone, in a series of brilliant speeches, adversely criticised the general policy of the Government.

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BENJAMIN DISRAELI, EARL OF BEACONSFIELD, 1804-81

I. Life.

1804. Born. Son of Isaac D'Israeli, author of *Curiosities of Literature*, who in 1817 became a member of the Church of England.

1821. Entered a solicitor's office, but soon gave up the idea of becoming a lawyer.

1837. Entered the House of Commons as M.P. for Maidstone.

1844. Published *Coningsby*.

1846. Violently attacked Peel for repealing the Corn Laws and became a strong supporter of Protection.

1852. Chancellor of the Exchequer in Derby's first ministry. Defeat of his Budget.

1858-9. Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons in Derby's second ministry.

1859. Resignation of the ministry on the rejection of Disraeli's Reform Bill.

1859-65. Opposed Russell's foreign policy.

1866. Chancellor of the Exchequer in Derby's third ministry.

1867. Carried the Reform Bill which established household suffrage.

1868. Prime Minister for the first time.

1870. Published *Lothair*.

1874-80. Prime Minister for the second time.

1876. Carried the Bill for giving to the Queen the title of Empress of India.

1876. Created Earl of Beaconsfield.

1878. British plenipotentiary at the Congress of Berlin.

1881. April 19 Died in London.

II. The Second Founder of the Conservative Party.

A. His attack on Sir Robert Peel.

He had entered Parliament as a supporter of Peel but partly perhaps because Peel gave him no office in 1841, partly because he saw the possibility of conciliating the ultra-Conservatives and strengthening his own position, he attacked Sir Robert for repealing the Corn Laws. He said Peel was "a great Parliamentary middle-man"; he "had caught the Whigs bathing and walked away with their clothes"; his government was "official despotism and Parliamentary imposture." He thus visited on Peel the ruin of the Conservative party, helped to unite its weakened forces, and laid the foundation of his own success.

The attack on Peel was the turning point in Disraeli's career.

B. He tried to educate his party.

(1) Reform.

He thought at first that "the natural rulers of England are the aristocracy supported by the people," but later, realising that there was little hope of a regenerated aristocracy¹ and trusting to "the invigorating energies of an educated and enfranchised people," he took up the cause of reform which the Conservatives had generally opposed, and induced his party to pass the Reform Bill of 1867.

(2) Protection.

He co-operated with Lord George Bentinck in the assertion of Protection, but was not a Protectionist at heart. In 1852 he accepted a resolution approving of Free Trade and thus committed the Conservative party to a new policy.

¹ In *Lothair* (1870) he represents the aristocracy as picturesque and dignified, but unpractical and aimless.

(3) Foreign policy and Imperialism.

His vigorous foreign policy and his recognition of the importance of the British Empire gave the Conservative party a wider outlook.

(4) He had a real sympathy for the poorer classes and showed this in *Sybil* and by his Reform Bill. He thus showed that Conservatism was "no longer the exclusive creed of the privileged and wealthy classes." The "Young England Party," of which he was the most distinguished member, took a deep interest in the "condition of England question" and was the forerunner of the "Fourth Party" and democratic Conservatism.

C. His theory of Conservatism.

He regarded the aim of the Conservative party as "the maintenance of our institutions, the protection of our Empire, and the improvement of the condition of the people." Although he met with little success in his attempt to realise these aims, he accurately defined the principles of the revived Conservatism which played so important a part in British history from 1895 to 1906. The foundation of the Primrose League¹ in his honour was a recognition of his services to his party.

III. The Champion of Imperialism.

A Within a comparatively short time the population of the Colonies had quadrupled, their commerce had greatly increased, and the most important had been granted self-government. Disraeli recognised that Great Britain "is no longer a mere European power. She is the metropolis of a great maritime empire." The Liberals had often shown little sympathy with the Colonies, and Disraeli maintained that only the "sympathy of the Colonies with the mother country" had prevented the disintegration of the Empire. He asserted the need of

¹ The idea that the primrose was his favourite flower seems incorrect.

"a great policy of imperial consolidation" involving an imperial tariff, a definition of the mutual responsibility of the Colonies and mother country for defence, and the establishment of a representative colonial council in London.

- B. But he did little to put his theories into practice, except to confer the title of Empress of India on the Queen. He did nothing to promote colonial federation, and left to his successors a legacy of difficulties in Egypt, India, and South Africa.
- C. But his theory of Imperialism received strong support at the end of the century, notably from Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Rosebery.

IV. Foreign Policy.

- A. His foreign policy was partly based upon his Imperialism.
"Our duty is to maintain the Empire of England [which can] alone give it that ascendancy in the councils of Europe which will secure peace."
- B. His foreign policy was, therefore, marked by hostility to Russia, which seemed dangerous to British interests in the East.
 - (1) He therefore supported Turkey, believing that the maintenance of the integrity of Turkey would check the power of Russia.
 - (2) He wished to settle the question of the North-West Frontier of India as a barrier to possible Russian aggression.
- C. He advocated "the presence, not to say the ascendancy, of England in the councils of Europe," and took an active part in the Congress of Berlin.
- D. His foreign policy was—
 - (1) Unsound.
 - a. Active intervention in European politics is contrary to British interests.

- β.** He devoted "exclusive attention to British interests," and sometimes failed to recognise the just claims of other countries.
- γ.** He did not see that Turkey could no longer be regarded as a "bulwark of civilisation against barbarism."

(2) Unsuccessful.

He alienated Russia, failed to maintain the integrity of Turkey and to settle the question of the relation of Great Britain to Egypt. At Berlin he threw away a great opportunity of strengthening the British Empire. His attempt to secure a "scientific frontier" for India failed, and his policy with regard to Afghanistan was repudiated by later Liberal and Conservative ministries. In England jingoism, and not patriotism, was too often the result of his efforts.

V. Domestic Policy.

- A.** He possessed little constructive ability and no administrative capacity.
 - (1) His sympathy with the working classes led to no great measure of social amelioration.
 - (2) His Reform Bill of 1867 was no less a theft of Whig clothes than Peel's Repeal of the Corn Laws.
 - (3) The credit of the domestic legislation of his second ministry belongs to Mr. Cross rather than to Disraeli.
 - (4) He said that in Ireland it was "the duty of a minister to effect by his policy all those changes which a revolution would do by force." But he did nothing to remedy Irish grievances.

B. Disraeli and Parliament.

- (1) He was "a child of Parliament. It was Parliament and the confidence of Parliament which gave him his predominance in the State" (Froude).
- (2) He was a master of parliamentary tactics.

(3) He was not a great orator, but his clever speeches, marked with brilliant wit, biting sarcasm and striking epigram, always secured an attentive hearing.¹

VI. Personal Characteristics.

A. His affectation.

His personal appearance was remarkable. In his early days he "affected affectation" in dress, manners, and speech; he wore rings outside his gloves, his clothes were gaudy in colour and fantastic in cut. He was theatrical and loved display, and this was shown by his sensational foreign policy. But he was picturesque and interesting, and succeeded by the power of his extraordinary personality in attracting attention.

B. He was considered by many to be insincere.

His early affectation and "theatricality" seemed inconsistent with sincerity. His action in carrying the Reform Bill in 1867, after turning out the Liberals for proposing a similar measure in 1866, seemed to Gladstone to be "diabolical cleverness." The secret treaties with Russia and Turkey in 1878, and his "policy of surprises" (page 918) aroused grave distrust. To Cranborne² he seemed "a political adventurer" pursuing a "policy of legerdemain," and to Carlyle "a superlative Hebrew conjurer."

He was an adept in the art of flattery. His famous greeting, "How's the old complaint?" often disguised the fact that he had completely forgotten former acquaintances. He said that anyone flattering royalty must "lay it on with a trowel," and practised his precept by addressing the Queen as "We authors, Ma'am."³

¹ His first speech was a failure, but as he sat down he said, "The time will come when you will hear me."

² Marquis of Salisbury.

³ A reference to the Queen's *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, which not even the most enthusiastic loyalist could honestly regard as literature.

C. His nationality.

He never became a real Englishman, and remained at heart a Jew, believing firmly in the superiority of the Jewish race. He was therefore able to regard the affairs of Great Britain with a more impartial scrutiny, but remained a "mystery man" (Wilberforce) to many who failed to appreciate his point of view.

D. His success was due partly to—

(1) His keen observation.

- a. He saw the probable effect of Peel's change of policy on the Conservatives, and made good use of the opportunity.
- β. He saw the need of reform 1867.
- γ. He saw that the Southern States of America had undertaken an impossible task.
- δ. He foresaw that Gladstone's Irish policy would lead to Home Rule.

(2) His courage.

- a. He never feared to attack his strongest opponents—O'Connell, Peel, Gladstone.
- β. He bravely struggled against the strong prejudice of those who objected to his personality or his race, and against serious financial difficulties which hampered him until his marriage, in 1839, with Mrs. Wyndham Lewis, the widow of his former colleague in the representation of Maidstone.
- γ. He did not hesitate to adopt a policy which he deemed to be wise, however great the difficulties.

E. He was a distinguished man of letters.

Vivian Grey (1826) is largely autobiographical; in *Coningsby* (1844) and *Sybil* (1845) he advocated monarchy, social democracy, and Anglicanism, and attacked the

Whigs; in *Lothair* (1870), the first novel published by an ex-Prime Minister, he portrayed the aristocracy as dignified but purposeless. His novels are wonderfully clever. His characters, many representing contemporary politicians, are well drawn; but his books, though dealing with important social and political problems, had little practical effect, owing to the unreality of his "sham philosophy."

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GREAT BRITAIN AND EGYPT, 1875-99

I. European Interest in Egypt.

- A. British ministers were unwilling to occupy Egypt because they did not wish to increase their territory in the Mediterranean, to rouse the jealousy of France, or to incur the heavy cost of occupation. Lord Beaconsfield strongly upheld the integrity of the Turkish Empire, which would have been impaired by the occupation of Egypt.
- 1883. Lord Granville promised that British troops should be withdrawn from Egypt as soon as possible.
- 1887. Lord Salisbury's offer to withdraw British troops within three years was rejected, owing to French opposition.
- B. But Britain was greatly interested in Egypt because of its position on the route to India, because the greater part of the commerce of the Suez Canal is British, and because (November, 1875) Lord Beaconsfield secured for the British Government the greatest interest in the Canal by buying for £4,000,000 the shares of the Khedive Ismail

C. France since 1830 had been extending her power in the Mediterranean, and considered that the construction of the Suez Canal (opened 1869) by the French engineer De Lesseps gave her a special right to influence in Egypt, while the Great Powers of Europe claimed a right to intervene in the affairs of the Turkish Empire, of which Egypt formed a part.

II. The Beginning of the British Domination in Egypt.

A. The Khedive Ismail had borrowed largely from European financiers to meet the cost of his attempt to conquer the Soudan, and had reduced Egypt to bankruptcy.

B. 1879. Re-establishment of the dual control over Egyptian finances (originally established 1876) by France and Great Britain, and deposition of Ismail in favour of his son Tewfik.

C. The rising of Arabi Bey.

(1) This rising was partly military, due to the failure of the Khedives to pay their soldiers. It was also a national movement, due to the objection of the Egyptians to the use of national revenues to pay foreign bond-holders and to the employment of some twelve hundred foreign officials under the dual control. Arabi, who demanded "Egypt for the Egyptians," secured the dismissal of the foreign officials, and (June, 1882) seized Alexandria, where fifty Europeans were killed.

(2) Armed intervention.

France and Italy refused to intervene, and Britain, impatient of the "diplomatic futilities" of the powers and anxious for the safety of the Suez Canal, determined to restore order by force. Consequent resignation from the Cabinet of John Bright.

July 11, 1882. A British squadron, under Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, bombarded Alexandria. The city burned by Arabi before evacuation.

September 13, 1882. Sir Garnet Wolseley routed

Arabi and crushed the military insurrection at Tel-el-Kebir. Arabi exiled to Ceylon.

(3) The question of evacuation.

(a) Gladstone and some of the Liberals desired to evacuate Egypt and the Foreign Secretary, Lord Granville (1A), promised to withdraw British troops when possible.

(b) But her intervention had made Great Britain responsible for the good government of Egypt and immediate evacuation was impossible, although the jealousy of France (especially of the Ferry ministry appointed February, 1883), made it impossible for Britain to secure permanent control. But—

- a. The dual control was abolished (January, 1883);
- β. Major Evelyn Baring was appointed Consul-General.

III. The Soudan.

A. 1877-9. Charles George Gordon,¹ Governor-General of the Soudan. He put down the slave trade and kept order. After his recall the Soudan was badly governed by corrupt Egyptian officials.

B. The Mahdi.

(1) January, 1883. Mahomed Ahmed, the "Mahdi,"² conquered Kordofan. Willing submission of the Soudanese, owing to Egyptian misgovernment.

(2) November 5th, 1883. Annihilation of Hicks Pasha's Egyptian army in the Soudan.

a. The British Government weakly disclaimed responsibility for this expedition (which was actually dispatched by the Khedive), but ought to have prevented it.

β. This disaster caused great unrest in Egypt and made immediate evacuation impossible.

¹ Nicknamed "Chinese Gordon," from his success in crushing the Taiping rebellion, 1864.

² i.e. the Messiah who was to appear before the last judgment.

C. Gordon and Khartoum.

- (1) Owing to a financial crisis, due to heavy indemnity for riots at Alexandria and the cost of the Soudan campaign, Baring compelled the Khedive to agree to abandon the Soudan, after the Egyptian garrisons at Khartoum and elsewhere, now threatened by the victorious Mahdi, had been withdrawn.
- (2) January, 1884. Gordon sent by Lord Granville to withdraw the garrisons and ensure the abandonment of the Soudan. At Cairo he was appointed by the Khedive Governor-General of the Soudan, and on arriving at Khartoum (February 18) he resolved not to withdraw the garrisons, but to establish a settled government and to "smash the Mahdi." The British Government ought either—
 - a. To have recalled him for disobeying instructions, or
 - β. To have given him the assistance of Zebehi Pasha and Turkish troops, as he requested.

(3) The fall of Khartoum.

- (a) Gordon was besieged in Khartoum by the Mahdi.
- (b) May 26, 1884. The Mahdi captured Berber, thus making a relief expedition via Suakin impossible.
- (c) The Government had promised to relieve Gordon but delayed action, ultimately sending an expedition under Lord Wolseley, in August, up the Nile, and not across the desert, as some advised.
- (d) Sir Herbert Stewart, sent by Wolseley by a short cut across the desert, routed the Arabs at Abu Klea on January 17, 1885, but was mortally wounded January 19. His successor, Sir Charles Wilson, arrived in sight of Khartoum on January 28, two days after Gordon had been slain, after holding out for 317 days.

The death of Gordon, whose bravery and saintly character had made him a popular hero, caused great indignation against the ministry. But Gordon had endangered his own life by persisting in remaining in Khartoum, in spite of his instructions ("I own to having been very insubordinate to Her Majesty's Government"—Gordon's Diary), and by refusing to escape from Khartoum by the southern route, which remained open for a long time. The ministry's chief mistakes were in the original selection as their agent of Gordon, whose impulsive character made him unwilling to obey orders, and in their failure to send speedy relief.

IV. The Conquest of the Soudan.

- A. From 1885 to 1896 the British Government, which had withdrawn its troops from the Soudan, maintained a defensive attitude on the Egyptian frontier, its outposts being Suakin and Wady Halfa.
- B. Many Englishmen considered that the withdrawal from the Soudan impaired the national honour; there was a desire that "Gordon should be avenged," and there was continual danger of attack from the Soudan on Egypt. By 1896 the prospect of conquering the Soudan had improved.
 - a. The Egyptian army, which had been made efficient largely by British non-commissioned officers, was strengthened by a considerable number of British troops.
 - β. The Soudan Military Railway, the deadliest weapon that Britain has used against Mahdism, was commenced. It started at Wady Halfa, and was extended to Abu Hamed in 1897. ("The journey to Berber now took a day instead of weeks.")
 - γ. The British Government promised financial

C. The Conquest.

September, 1896. Occupation of Dongola.

September, 1897. Occupation of Berber.

April, 1898. Defeat of the Dervishes at Atbara.

September 2, 1898. The army of the Khalifa, the Mahdi's successor, which displayed the utmost bravery, was utterly routed, with a loss of 11,000 killed, by Sir Herbert Kitchener at Omdurman.

September 2, 1898. Khartoum occupied.

November, 1899. The Khalifa defeated and slain by Sir Reginald Wingate, who had succeeded Kitchener as Sirdar.

The campaign of 1898 was carried out with great military skill and remarkable administrative ability. Its successful issue restored British self-respect and gave to Egypt the security necessary for internal development.

D. Fashoda.

- (1) "The effective control of the Nile is essential to the existence of Egypt" (Cromer), and in 1895 Sir Edward Grey had stated in the House of Commons that "any attempt to encroach upon the Nile valley would be regarded as an unfriendly act."
- (2) July, 1898. The French flag hoisted at Fashoda on the Nile, about 300 miles above Khartoum, by Major Marchand, who had marched with a small force from the Congo. His action threatened the "effective control of the Nile" by Great Britain.
- (3) Kitchener, whose victory at Omdurman had saved Marchand's force from destruction by the Dervishes, occupied Fashoda, but carefully abstained from any attack on Marchand, whose position became untenable.
- (4) November, 1898. Owing to Lord Salisbury's firmness the French Government directed Marchand to withdraw from Fashoda, and thus the danger of war between France and Great Britain was averted.

E. The settlement of the Soudan, January, 1899.

- (1) The joint sovereignty of Great Britain and Egypt proclaimed over the Soudan.
- (2) Equal privileges of trade and commerce in the Soudan granted to all comers, irrespective of nationality.
- (3) The foundation of the Gordon Memorial College at Khartoum by Kitchener (created Lord Kitchener of Khartoum) showed the determination of its conquerors to promote the best interests of the Soudan.

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HOME RULE

I. The Beginning of the Home Rule Movement.

A. The overthrow of Fenianism, which had aimed at the complete separation of Ireland from Great Britain, was followed by the growth of the idea of Home Rule and the Home Government Association was founded in 1870. The new movement was a compromise between close union and complete separation. It aimed at the establishment of a separate Parliament for Ireland. It was strengthened by—

- (1) The growing belief that Englishmen did not understand the real conditions of Ireland, and by the recognition of the fact that the conditions of party government in England made it impossible for the Parliament to follow out a consistent Irish policy.

- (2) The continuance of agrarian discontent in Ireland and the failure of the Land Act of 1870 to prevent evictions and ensure amicable relations between landlord and tenant. This was the main cause of the foundation of the Land League, 1879.
- (3) The growth of national feeling in Ireland.
- (4) The distrust of the British Parliament felt by many Irish Protestants owing to the disestablishment of the Irish Church and the Land Act.
- (5) 1874. The renewal of the Coercion Bills.

B. Charles Stewart Parnell and Parliamentary Obstruction.

- (1) Parnell (1846-91), although a Protestant and a landlord, became the "uncrowned king" of Ireland and the leader of the Roman Catholic tenantry, with whose sufferings he strongly sympathised. He was a bitter foe of England which he regarded as the enemy of Ireland. He was a brilliant party organiser but had little constructive ability. Although his manners were cold and haughty, and he lacked moral sensibility, he succeeded in making Home Rule the most pressing political problem of his later years.
- (2) Isaac Butt, M.P. for Limerick, was the original leader of the Irish Home Rulers, who numbered fifty-eight in the House of Commons in 1874. He failed to convince Parliament of the need of serious treatment of the Home Rule Question, and in 1877 was succeeded in the leadership by Parnell, to whose policy of obstruction he was strongly opposed.
- (3) Obstruction.

Parnell and his friends determined to "obstruct" other business until the Irish Question had received full attention. He gained his object at the expense of the dignity of the House of Commons.

- a. July 2, 1877. O'Connor Power, supported by only eight members, compelled the House to divide seventeen times on the Army Reserve Force Bill.
- b. February 2, 1881. After the "forty-one hours' debate" on Forster's Coercion Bill Speaker Brand checked obstruction and ended the debate by putting the question on his own authority.
- c. February 3, 1881. Thirty-six Irish members suspended for obstruction.

C. The foundation of the Land League, 1879.

- (1) The failure of the Land Act of 1870 to prevent evictions, the failure of the potato crop, and the excessive rain in 1879 led Michael Davitt, assisted by Parnell, to found the Land League for the relief of the Irish tenants. Its ultimate object was to replace landlords by peasant proprietors and to restore "the land to the people of Ireland." It was hoped that the abolition of landlordism would be followed by the abolition of the legislative supremacy of the British Parliament.
- (2) Parnell advised tenants to offer what they considered a fair rent and, if their offer was refused, to pay no rent at all. "Rent is an immoral tax upon the industry of a people" (Davitt).
- (3) The Land League, in spite of the illegality of the methods it advocated, became supreme in Ireland and led to great disorder. "Crime dogs the steps of the Land League" (Gladstone). Parnell did not directly instigate these crimes, but they were partly due to his violent language and his failure to condemn them weakened his cause in England.

II. Gladstone's Second Ministry, 1880-1885.

Gladstone sympathised with Irish grievances but was resolved to maintain "the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament." His policy aimed at repressing disorder and removing agrarian discontent.

A. Disorder and outrage.

The Land League led to repeated outrages on land-lords, land agents and tenants who resisted the League. The rejection by the Lords (August, 1880) of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill aggravated the discontent. Parnell said that any tenant who took a farm from which his predecessor had been evicted ought to be treated "as if he were a leper of old." This led to general boycotting,¹ to the mutilation of the cattle of persons hostile to the League and to several murders, e.g. that of Lord Mountmorres, September 25, 1880.

B. Forster's Coercion Bill.

- (1) October, 1880. The trial and acquittal of Land League officials² showed the difficulty of checking outrage, and Forster, realising that repression of disorder must precede remedial measures, brought in the
- (2) Coercion Bills, 1881.

These authorised the Lord Lieutenant to arrest and detain in prison without trial persons suspected of agrarian outrages. The Bills became law in March, 1881, in spite of the obstruction of the Home Rulers.

C. Gladstone's Land Bill, 1881.

A "message of peace" intended to "gratify the land hunger" of the peasants.

- (1) A Land Court to be established and to fix "fair rents" for fifteen years.

¹ The name comes from Captain Boycott, a land agent of Mayo, one of the first victims.

² The foreman of the jury stated "we are unanimous that we cannot agree."

Rents were reduced about 25 per cent by the Land Court, which thus acknowledged the reality of some of the tenants' grievances.

(2) Land Commissioners to assist emigration and to advance three-quarters of the purchase money to tenants wishing to buy their holdings.

Parnell regarded the Bill as inadequate, while land lords looked on it as confiscation and an undue concession to Irish tenant custom.

August, 1881. The Bill passed by the Lords with reluctance.

D. Kilmainham.

(1) October, 1881. Imprisonment of Parnell and other leaders of the Land League in Kilmainham gaol. This action due to the continuance of disorder and to Gladstone's disappointment with Parnell's attitude towards the Land Bill.

(2) "No Rent Manifesto" issued by Parnell. No rent to be paid until he was released. Increase of "Moonlighting," i.e. midnight agrarian outrages.

(3) October, 1881. Forster proclaimed the Land League as "an illegal and criminal association."

Consequent formation of secret societies, especially the "Invincibles" whose object was "the removal of obnoxious political personages."

(4) "The Kilmainham Treaty" (April, 1882).

Captain O'Shea, M.P. for Clare, intimated to Gladstone that if the question of arrears of rent were settled Parnell would be able "to co-operate cordially with the Liberal party."

Release of Parnell and his friends and resignation of the Irish Secretaryship by Forster, who "did not think it right to buy obedience to the law by concession to law-braker."

Many asserted that a formal agreement had been made by Gladstone with Parnell. "The Kilmainham Treaty." But Gladstone always denied this.

E. Phoenix Park.

- (1) May 6, 1882. Murder by "Invincibles" in Phoenix Park of Lord Frederick Cavendish, Forster's successor, and Burke, the Under-Secretary.
- (2) The Prevention of Crimes Bill was therefore passed, which authorised the establishment of a special tribunal of three judges to try cases without juries, extended the summary jurisdiction of magistrates, and authorised the Lord Lieutenant to "proclaim" meetings when necessary.

F. Earl Spencer, Lord Lieutenant (May, 1882–June, 1885).

- (1) August 17, 1882. Murder of five people at Maamtrasna for giving information to the authorities.
- (2) October, 1882. The National League founded by Parnell to replace the Land League. The main object was to promote Home Rule, not, as Davitt wanted, land nationalisation. Parnell now thought that an independent Irish Parliament would soon settle the land question.
- (3) January, 1883. Arrest of the Phoenix Park murderers and conviction on the evidence of James Carey, who turned informer.

Under Lord Spencer and Mr. Trevelyan, the Secretary, there was a marked improvement in the condition of Ireland. The "Invincibles" were broken up, peace was restored, the number of agrarian outrages greatly diminished. But Parnell's influence grew more powerful.

III. Salisbury's First Ministry, 1885.

August, 1885. The Ashbourne Act.

Lord Ashbourne's Act extended the land purchase scheme of 1881. The Commissioners were empowered to advance all the purchase money except one-fifth. The Act proved successful and enabled many tenants to purchase their holdings in all parts of Ireland.

IV. The First Home Rule Bill, 1886.**A. Gladstone adopts Home Rule.**

- (1) After the General Election of December, 1885, the Parnellites held the balance between Liberals and Conservatives. Their growing influence was shown by the fact that Ireland returned eighty-five Parnellites and no Liberals.
- (2) Gladstone saw that his previous policy of combining coercion and conciliation had failed to solve the Irish Question, and, influenced by the result of the elections, resolved, contrary to his previous opinion, to give Ireland an independent Parliament.

B. April 8, 1886. Gladstone introduced his Home Rule Bill, which provided—

- (1) That an Irish Parliament consisting of an Upper and a Lower House should be established at Dublin with authority over the Irish executive and the control of most local taxation and (ultimately) of the police;
- (2) That no Irish members or Irish representative peers should sit at Westminster;
- (3) That the Imperial Parliament should deal with questions affecting the Crown, Army, Navy, Colonies, Foreign Policy, Customs, and Excise;
- (4) That the Protestant religion should be safeguarded in Ireland;
- (5) That Ireland should contribute one-fifteenth to imperial charges.

C. Land Bill.

Gladstone also brought in a Land Bill, by which the State was empowered to purchase land from the landlords and to resell it to tenants.

D. Opposition.

The Bills aroused great opposition. Gladstone had not properly prepared his party for the measure which Randolph Churchill declared to be the work of "an old man in a hurry." The Queen strongly objected to Home Rule, and Hartington, Goschen, Chamberlain and Bright refused to support the measure. The opposition was not, as Gladstone asserted, due solely to "the spirit and power of class," and derived great strength from the number of men of intellectual eminence who supported it—e.g. Huxley, Tyndall, Tennyson, Browning, Lecky, Froude and Herbert Spencer. The reasons for opposition were—

- (1) The weakening of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. Bright, adopting Gladstone's words, said that he was "marching through rapine to the dismemberment of the United Kingdom";
- (2) Doubt of the ability of the Irish, in view of recent disorder and outrages, to govern themselves;
- (3) The belief that the Roman Catholics would become predominant—"Home Rule means Rome Rule";
- (4) The fear that the Ulster loyalists would be unjustly treated.
- (5) The heavy cost of the proposed land purchase scheme;
- (6) The belief that the Act of Union must be religiously preserved;
- (7) The idea that if Irishmen were unrepresented at Westminster, it was unjust to compel them to pay any taxes levied by the Imperial Parliament. "No taxation without representation."

E. Rejection of the Bill.

June 8, 1886. The Government defeated on the Second Reading by 343 votes (including 93 Liberals) to 313. The largest vote on record.

July 20, 1886. Resignation of Gladstone.

V. Salisbury's Second Ministry, August, 1886–August, 1892.

Hitherto the Irish policy of the Conservatives had been, in spite of the Ashbourne Act, 1885, mainly repressive. But now, while Balfour (Chief Secretary for Ireland, March, 1887–October, 1891) put down disorder with a firm hand, the Conservatives, influenced by their new allies, the Liberal Unionists, adopted a more conciliatory policy and favoured the establishment of small peasant proprietors.

A. The Plan of Campaign.

- (1) The Plan of Campaign (instituted October 21, 1886) was due to the rejection of the Home Rule Bill and of Parnell's Tenant Relief Bill and to severe agricultural depression.
- (2) By the Plan the tenants on each estate were instructed to offer their landlord what they considered to be a fair rent. If their offer was refused the rent was to be used to meet the expenses of the Land War.
- (3) December 18, 1886. The Plan of Campaign declared illegal.

B. Balfour's repressive policy.

- (1) The Criminal Law Amendment Act (July, 1887).

Passed owing to the attempt to enforce the Plan of Campaign. It gave the Lord Lieutenant power to declare leagues illegal and allowed the trials of persons accused of crime to be conducted in England if necessary.

Strong opposition. The Act carried by the use of "the guillotine."

(2) Mitchelstown.

September 9, 1887. One person killed, two mortally wounded in an affray with police at Mitchelstown. A verdict of wilful murder returned by the jury against an inspector and three constables. The Government refused to prosecute.

(3) O'Brien's breeches.

October, 1887. Imprisonment of O'Brien, who was compelled to wear prison dress. Great excitement about "O'Brien's breeches." The incident important because it showed Balfour's determination to treat political offences as ordinary offences against the law.

(4) Gladstone, who now made Home Rule the great object of his life and thereby weakened the effective power of the Liberal Party, attacked "the pestilent declarations of Mr. Balfour" with undue vehemence. His advice "Remember Mitchelstown" aggravated ill feeling.

(5) Partly owing to the enforcement of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, partly to the efforts of the Pope and Roman Catholic priests to check disorder, and partly to the hope of better treatment due to Balfour's later conciliatory measures, there was a marked decrease in crime, although outrages continued.

January, 1890. The stringency of the Crimes Act relaxed.

C. Parnellism and crime.

(1) April 18, 1887. The *Times* published, in a series of letters on Parnellism and Crime in which it tried to show the responsibility of Irish members for Land League outrages, a facsimile letter by Parnell, dated May 15, 1882, in which he said that Burke (page 944) "got no more than his deserts."

(2) August, 1888. Appointment by Parliament of the Parnell Commission (Justices Hannon, Day, and Smith) to investigate—

- a. The accuracy of the facsimile letter;
- b. The share of sixty-five Irish members in the work of the Land League.

(3) February 23, 1889. Confession of Richard Pigott, owing to Sir Charles Russell's cross-examination, that he had forged the letter. March 1. Suicide of Pigott in Madrid.

(4) February 13, 1890. The Commissioners reported—

- a. That the facsimile letter was a forgery and that Parnell had not approved of murder;
- b. That Irish members had entered into a conspiracy against the payment of agricultural rent, did incite to intimidation but not to crimes other than intimidation.

D. Disgrace and death of Parnell.

(1) November, 1890. Divorce of Mrs. O'Shea. Parnell the co-respondent.

(2) Decision of Gladstone, largely owing to strong pressure from Scottish Presbyterians and English Non-conformists, that he could no longer co-operate with Parnell.

(3) Break-up of the Nationalist Party, the majority accepting the leadership of Justin McCarthy; the Parnellite minority led by John Redmond.

(4) October 6, 1891. Death of Parnell.

E. Balfour's conciliatory measures.

Balfour's influence had been greatly strengthened by the failure of the Plan of Campaign (especially on Mr. Smith Barry's estate in Tipperary, 1891) and by the break-up of the Nationalist Party. The diminution in crime enabled him to adopt conciliatory measures.

- (1) 1890. He had relaxed the stringency of the Crimes Act.
- (2) He had done much to relieve the exceptional distress of the winter of 1890-91.
- (3) Balfour's Land Purchase Bill, 1891.

Its main object was to promote the extension of peasant proprietorship, and it provided :—

- a. That a Central Department should be established to deal with all land questions, especially the price of land ;
- b. That the Government should advance to purchasers of land the total price, which was to be repaid in forty-nine years ;
- c. That a Congested Districts Board should be established to deal with areas in which the population was too thick and the holdings too small to justify an attempt to make every tenant a peasant proprietor. This Board to promote industry, to assist emigration, and to combine small holdings into one large enough to make peasant proprietorship successful.

The Bill became law December, 1890, and formed a fitting conclusion to Mr. Balfour's work which, in spite of the strong opposition aroused by his coercive policy, had proved a distinct success.

VI. The Second Home Rule Bill, 1893.

- A. The General Election of 1892 had resulted in the formation of Gladstone's fourth ministry. Owing to the support of eighty-one Nationalist members, the Liberals had a majority of forty over Conservatives and Liberal Union.

- B This Bill differed from that of 1886 in providing that
 - eighty Irish members should sit in the Imperial Parliament with the right of voting on all questions except those concerning Great Britain alone. "The in-and-out clauses."
- C. Gladstone, in deference to the wish of the majority, removed all restrictions on the voting power of the Irish members. The Bill aroused fierce opposition, which on July 27, 1893, led to blows, and was carried by a majority of thirty-four, after repeated applications of the "guillotine" (September 1, 1893).
- D. The Lords threw out the Bill because of the small majority it had secured in the Commons, of their sympathy with Ulster and Irish landlords, of the use of the guillotine, and of their belief that it owed its success in the Commons not to the general support of the nation but to Gladstone's remarkable personal influence. Gladstone, denying the right of the Lords to force a dissolution (page 964), refused to dissolve at once, and passed several measures (e.g. the Parish Councils Bill) before resigning office, March 3, 1894. Lord Rosebery, the new Prime Minister, though favourable to Home Rule, thought that before it was finally granted "England will have to be convinced of its justice," and it ceased to be, what Gladstone had made it, the leading question of British politics.

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GLADSTONE'S SECOND MINISTRY, APRIL, 1880, TO JUNE, 1885

Prime Minister, and Chancellor of the Exchequer to December, 1882, Gladstone; Foreign Secretary, Earl Granville; President of the Board of Trade, J. Chamberlain; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Earl Spencer, 1882; Chief Secretary for Ireland, W. E. Forster, to May, 1882, then Lord Frederick Cavendish, then Trevelyan; Secretary for India, Lord Hartington; Under Foreign Secretary, Sir Charles Dilke.

Gladstone originally intended to form a Whig ministry, but was compelled to give offices to Chamberlain and Dilke owing to the growing power of the Radicals. Chamberlain said he preached "the gospel of political humanity"; he supported trades unionism, direct taxation, and the cause of the labourer. On June 13, 1883, he publicly advocated Disestablishment, manhood suffrage, payment of members and free education, and on March 30, 1883, he made, in an attack on the House of Lords, his famous statement, "They toil not, neither do they spin." He was the champion of the New Radicalism (due partly to the extension of the franchise), and by establishing in many towns a Liberal caucus he had materially contributed to the recent victory. But he was not very acceptable to many of the Whigs, who objected to his democratic policy.

The Fourth Party,¹ led by Lord Randolph Churchill, included Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, Sir John Gorst, and often Mr. Arthur Balfour. Churchill was the apostle of Tory democracy, and had a real sympathy with popular government. He tried to win over the working men by a policy of social reform and the Parnellites by denouncing coercion. He followed Beaconsfield, but strongly opposed the "Old Gang," Northcote, Cross and Smith. The new "Fourth Party" stood in much the same relation to the Conservatives as the Radicals did to the Liberals.

¹ The other three parties were the Liberals, Conservatives, and Nationalists.

I. Afghanistan (page 922).

A. Maiwand. Roberts' march to Candahar. Evacuation of Candahar. Gladstone's "policy of scuttle" (Beaconsfield) was generally approved, and both parties recognised the independence of the Amir and the necessity of maintaining friendly relations with him.

II. The Transvaal (page 1006).

1881. Majuba. Independence of the Transvaal recognised.

III. The Irish Question (page 942).

Irish Land Act, 1881; No Rent Manifesto, 1881; murder of Burke and Cavendish, 1882; Crimes Act, 1882. Success of Lord Spencer's administration.

IV. Egypt (page 934).

1882. Rising of Arabi; July, bombardment of Alexandria; September 13, Tel-el-Kebir.

1884. Gordon sent to Khartoum.

1885. January 26. Death of Gordon.

1885. March. The London Convention effected a satisfactory settlement of the Egyptian finances.

V. 1884. The Third Reform Act (page 877).**VI. Domestic History.****A. Bradlaugh.**

(1) 1880. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P. for Northampton, a professed atheist, claimed the right of affirming his allegiance instead of taking an oath which would have had no binding effect on his conscience.

(2) 1881. The judges declared his claim illegal.

(3) 1882. Re-election of Bradlaugh and his expulsion from Parliament.

(4) 1883. The Affirmation Bill (legalising affirming) thrown out, largely owing to the opposition of Churchill and the Fourth Party, and in spite of a great speech from Gladstone (April 26), who protested against making any "distinctions between man and man on the ground of religious difference."

B. 1880. The Burials Act

Removed a Nonconformist grievance by allowing burials in parish churchyards without any service or with any orderly form the mourners chose.

C. 1880. Education made compulsory by Mr. Mundella's Bill.

D. 1880. The Repeal of the Malt Tax, the Ground Game Act, 1880 (which allowed tenants to kill ground game), and the Agricultural Holdings Act, 1883 (which gave the tenant compensation for unexhausted improvements), pleased the farmers.

E. 1883. Chamberlain's Bankruptcy Act appointed official receivers to control insolvent estates.

F. 1883. The Corrupt Practices Act fixed a limit for election expenses in proportion to the number of voters, and did much to check bribery and corruption.

VII. Foreign Policy.

The ministry owed its majority partly to opposition to Beaconsfield's aggressive policy, but, except in Afghanistan, there was no important change of policy.

A. The assertion of the Treaty of Berlin (page 918).

The Sultan had not carried out those provisions of the Treaty of Berlin which provided for the extension of the frontiers of Montenegro and Greece, and for the introduction of reforms into Armenia. The ministry wished to revive the Concert of Europe and to compel the Turks to keep their promises. Mr. Goschen was sent as Envoy Extraordinary to Constantinople.

(1) Montenegro, 1881.

The powers demanded that Dulcigno, now occupied by Albanians, should be ceded to Montenegro. The Sultan refused, and therefore (September, 1881) a naval demonstration was made off the coast of Albania by Sir Beauchamp Seymour. The demonstration was ineffective, but the Sultan, fearing that the British would seize the Customs at Smyrna, yielded.

November, 1881. Dulcigno ceded to Montenegro.

(2) Greece.

Goschen and the other ambassadors compelled the Sultan to give Thessaly and part of Epirus to Greece, August, 1881.

But Turkey retained the strong fortress of Janina.

(3) Thus Goschen had maintained the Concert of the Powers, kept the peace of Europe, and enforced the Treaty of Berlin.

B. Russia and Afghanistan, 1885.

- (1) British prestige had been impaired by the fall of Khartoum (January 26, 1885), and the Russians therefore continued their advance towards Afghanistan.
- (2) March, 1885. The Russians defeated the Afghans at Penjdeh and seized the town, which they claimed as part of Asiatic Russia, although the British asserted that it belonged to Afghanistan.
- (3) Both English parties accepted the principle of the independence of Afghanistan, and Gladstone, with the support of the Conservatives, prepared for war. But the dispute was referred to arbitration and settled without war.

C. New Guinea.

1883. Derby (Colonial Secretary) disallowed the seizure of part of New Guinea by Queensland.

1884. December. Germany obtained part of Northern New Guinea. The Government, wishing to secure

the support of Germany for their Egyptian policy, assented to this extension of German power, and also to the annexation by Germany of Samoa and Angra Pequena (in South-West Africa). The action of the Government was strongly resented in Australia.

D. The Berlin Conference (concluded February, 1885)

- (1) Provided for the free navigation of the Congo and Niger;
- (2) Established the Congo Free State as the personal property of King Leopold, not as a Belgian colony.

VIII. General.

June 8, 1885. Gladstone resigned owing to an adverse vote on the Budget. The Irish voted against the Government.

- The beginning of the break-up of the Liberal party.
- (1) Gladstone's personal influence tended to keep the party together. The Nonconformists now supported him, partly owing to his championship of the Eastern Christians. Household suffrage gained the support of many of the labourers. But divisions were gradually appearing.
- (2) Owing to the extension of the franchise the extreme Radicals, led by Chamberlain, became more powerful, and these were strongly opposed to the Whigs.
- (3) Strong differences appeared as to Irish policy. Hartington objected to interference with the landlords. Forster wanted coercion, Chamberlain advocated local government.
- (4) Gladstone, who believed that the Colonies should be left alone, had little sympathy with Imperialism (of which Rosebery was a strong supporter).

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LORD SALISBURY'S FIRST MINISTRY,
1885-6

Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, Lord Salisbury; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Carnarvon; Secretary for India, Randolph Churchill.

The work of the Foreign Office, which Salisbury directed most successfully, was so arduous that he was unable to give due attention to the control of his party. The Fourth Party now became powerful. Churchill became leader of the Commons, and Gorst and Balfour obtained office.

The Government secured for a time the support of the Parnellites owing partly to the influence of Carnarvon, who favoured a separate Irish parliament. But the Irish support was unreliable, and Chamberlain called the Government a "government of caretakers."

I. **Ireland** (page 945).

1885. Lord Ashbourne's Act.

II. **Burma**.

November 28, 1885. Capture of Mandalay, the capital of Upper Burma, because King Theebaw refused to accept a British resident and desired to enter into close relations with the French, whose growing power in Further India seemed to threaten British interests. The country was annexed in 1886, but, owing to the opposition of dacoits, was not finally conquered until 1889.

III. **Bradlaugh**.

January, 1886. Speaker Brand refused to admit any valid objection to the taking of the oath of allegiance by any lawfully elected M.P. Bradlaugh took his seat in the Commons.

IV. The Fall of the Government.

- A. December 17, 1885. Publication, on the information of Herbert Gladstone, in the *Standard* and *Leeds Mercury*, of a scheme for Home Rule adopted by his father. The Parnellites therefore tended to support Gladstone.
- B. January, 1886. Resignation of the Government after Jesse Collings, supported by the Irish, had carried an amendment regretting the absence from the Queen's Speech of mention of measures for the relief of the agricultural labourers. The "three acres and a cow" amendment.

References :

- A. *Life of Robert, Marquis of Salisbury*, Vol. III.
Life of Lord Randolph Churchill, Vol. I, chaps. IX.-XI.

GLADSTONE'S THIRD MINISTRY, FEBRUARY TO AUGUST, 1886

- A. The first Home Rule Parliament (page 945) was the most barren Parliament of the reign.
- B. Gladstone's success at the elections was due to the support of the agricultural labourers, which outweighed the opposition of the towns.
- C. The Whigs (Hartington, Goschen, Selborne, Derby, Northbrook and Forster) refused to take office, and combined to form the Liberal Unionist party, which was inaugurated at a meeting in Her Majesty's Theatre, at which Earl Cowper (formerly a Liberal Lord Lieutenant) took the chair and Salisbury and Hartington appeared on the same platform.
- D. Ninety-three Liberals voted against the Bill, and the Liberal party was wrecked.

Reference :

- A. *A Modern History of the English People*, by Gretton. (Grant Richards.) Vol. I, chap. VIII.

LORD SALISBURY'S SECOND MINISTRY, 1886-92

Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Randolph Churchill, and, from January 4, 1887, Goschen; Foreign Secretary, Lord Iddesleigh,¹ and from 1887 Salisbury; Chief Secretary for Ireland, Sir M. Hicks-Beach, and, from March, 1887, to October, 1891, A. J. Balfour.

I. The Settlement of Parties.

A. The Liberal Unionists.²

- (1) The seventy-eight Liberal Unionist members held the balance of power, but, while at first refusing to take any office, supported Lord Salisbury, who had offered to serve under Hartington. But Salisbury recognised the need of making concessions to the Unionists in order to ensure the continuance of the Union, and this Parliament marked the end of the old ultra-Conservative party and the adoption of a more Liberal policy somewhat on the lines of the Tory Democracy advocated by Churchill.
- (2) There seemed some chance of reconciliation between Liberals and Unionists.
 - (a) A "Round Table Conference" met at Sir William Harcourt's house but failed to ensure agreement, possibly owing partly to growing personal antipathy between Gladstone and Chamberlain.
 - (b) February, 1887. Chamberlain's letter to the *Baptist*, in which he stated that "British reforms are delayed by Irish obstruction," made the division permanent.

December, 1891. Hartington succeeded his father as Duke of Devonshire. Chamberlain leader of the Unionists in the Commons.

¹ Sir Stafford Northcote.

² The terms Separatists (which the Liberals repudiated) and Unionists appear to have been first used by Churchill.

(3) The first Unionist to take office in a Conservative Ministry was Mr. Goschen, who succeeded Lord Randolph Churchill as Chancellor of the Exchequer January, 1887.

B. The "Fourth Party."

Lord Randolph Churchill had proved an excellent leader of the House of Commons and a successful platform speaker. As Chancellor of the Exchequer he favoured economy and, thinking himself indispensable to the ministry, resigned owing to the increase in the naval and military estimates. But he "forgot Goschen," who became Chancellor. Churchill's career was now practically ended.

II. Ireland (page 947).

1886. Plan of Campaign.

1887. Balfour Chief Secretary; Irish Land Act; "Parnellism and Crime"; Mitchelstown.

1890. Report of Commission on Parnellism and Crime; disgrace of Parnell; split in the Irish Party; Irish Land Purchase Bill.

III. Egypt (page 937).

1889. Grenfell defeated the Dervishes at Toski.

February 19, 1891. Osman Digna routed at Tokar, re-occupation of Tokar; beginning of advance towards the Soudan.

IV. Domestic Policy.

A. The Tithe Bill—

Transferred the actual payment of tithes from the tenant to the landlord (who had practically paid them before).

B. Bradlaugh.

1888. The Oaths Bill allowed members to make an affirmation of allegiance instead of taking an oath.

C. The 2½ per cents.

March, 1888. Goschen created a new stock bearing interest for fifteen years at 2½ and afterward at 2½ per cent, and by the reduction in interest (previously 3 per cent) saved the country £1,400,000 a year for fifteen years, and subsequently £2,800,000 a year.

D. The Local Government Act, 1888.

(1) Sixty-one County Councils to consist of councillors elected by household suffrage for three years and aldermen elected by the councillors.

a. The corporations of boroughs with more than 50,000 inhabitants to act as borough councils independent of their county.

β. London to be a separate county, but—

1. The City to retain its own rights and to be governed by the corporation;

2. The London police to remain subject to the Home Office.

(2) The County Councils to discharge the administrative duties previously undertaken by the magistrates, including the management of roads, bridges, drains, and general county business. But the control of the county police was vested in a joint committee of magistrates and councillors, and quarter sessions of magistrates retained their judicial powers.

(3) The Act thus substituted for administrative purposes County Councils elected by ratepayers for county magistrates nominated by Lords Lieutenant. It is an excellent example of the Liberal Conservatism due to the union of Liberal Unionists and Conservatives.

1889. The Act extended to Scotland.

E. Education.

- (1) 1890. The Local Taxation Act gave the proceeds¹ of a new tax on beer and spirits to County Councils for technical education.
- (2) 1891. Free education in elementary schools (page 1047). Another example of Liberal Conservatism.

V. Foreign Policy. The Partition of Africa.

A. British companies had been formed recently to open up Africa.

- (1) 1886. The Royal Niger Company.
- (2) September, 1888. The East Africa Company secured rights over the country from Zanzibar to Victoria Nyanza.
- (3) October, 1889. The British South Africa Company² was formed to work concessions made to Rhodes by Lobengula, King of the Matabele.

B. Germany.

- (1) Germany was anxious to extend her colonial empire, had secured territory in East Africa, and claimed the Hinterland³ of Zanzibar, in which the East Africa Company had secured important concessions.

- (2) June, 1890.

Salisbury and Caprivi,⁴ the German Chancellor, agreed that Germany should abandon her claims to Uganda and the Upper Nile, and should recognise the protectorate of Great Britain over Zanzibar, and that Great Britain should cede Heligoland to Germany.

- a. Great Britain thus secured Nyassaland and Uganda.

¹ The "whisky money."

² The Chartered Company.

³ i.e. the country lying behind an occupied coast-line.

⁴ William II had "dropped the pilot," Bismarck, March 17, 1890.

B. There was some objection to the cession of Heligoland, but the island was of little value to Great Britain although valuable to Germany as it commanded the entrance to the Kiel Canal and could be used as a coaling station.

C. Portugal.

- (1) The Portuguese, who claimed much of South Africa owing to the discoveries of fifteenth-century navigators, made an inroad on British settlements south of the Zambesi.
- (2) 1890. By a treaty with Portugal, Salisbury secured the recognition of British sovereignty up to the Zambesi and the free navigation of the Zambesi.

D. France.

1890. A treaty with France provided that Great Britain should recognise the French protectorate over Madagascar and the supremacy of France in the French Congo and the Sahara; that France should recognise the British protectorate over Zanzibar and the supremacy in the Haussa States which the activity of the Royal Niger Company had secured for Great Britain.

E. Some critics considered that British interests had been sacrificed, but the difficulties in Egypt made it necessary to maintain friendly relations with European States (especially France and Germany) which had the power to aggravate these difficulties; Salisbury's policy of "prudent bargain and constant concession" prevented European war on account of African territory.

References:

Life of Lord Randolph Churchill, Winston Churchill.
(Macmillan.) Vol. II, chaps. xii., xxi.

The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, Vol. III,
chap. iii.

Life of Robert, Marquis of Salisbury, by Lady G. Cecil.
(Hodder and Stoughton.) Vol. IV.

GLADSTONE'S FOURTH MINISTRY 1892-4

Prime Minister, Gladstone; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir William V. Harcourt; Secretary for War, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman; Secretary for Ireland, J. Morley.

September, 1891. The Liberals had accepted the unwieldy "Newcastle Programme" (which included Welsh and Scottish Disestablishment, Local Veto, and the limitation of hours of labour), and thus alienated the Established Church, the liquor interest and many employers. Gladstone's interest was confined to Home Rule, and he was unfavourable to Welsh Disestablishment.

For the first time representatives of the Independent Labour Party (John Burns, Keir Hardie, and two others) were returned to Parliament.

I. 1893. The Second Home Rule Bill was passed by the Commons and rejected by the Lords (page 950).

But Gladstone, denying the right of the House of Lords to force a dissolution, refused to dissolve, as he felt bound to try to pass part of the "Newcastle Programme."

II. 1893. The Matabele War.

Defeat of Lobengula, who had attacked the Mashonas, a tribe friendly to Great Britain. Capture of Buluwayo. Matabeleland placed under the authority of the Chartered Company.

III. 1893. The Employers' Liability Bill

Increased the liability of employers for injuries to workmen. The Lords insisted on allowing workmen to "contract out" from the advantages of the Bill if they wished. Gladstone therefore withdrew the Bill.

IV. 1894. The Parish Councils Act.

- (1) District Councils to be appointed to administer the poor law and act as the sanitary authority.
- (2) Parish Councils to be elected in all villages with more than three hundred inhabitants and to act as "secular vestries" with the power of enforcing rights of way, of preventing enclosures, of managing parochial charities which were not ecclesiastical.
- (3) The Councils, for which women were eligible, to be elected on a very wide suffrage.

The Bill passed the Commons, and the Liberal Unionist peers ensured its passage through the Lords in spite of the opposition of some Conservatives.

- (4) The Parish Councils Act was a complement to the Local Government Act of 1888. These laws have "made England a self-governing country in all the lesser details of ordinary life," and have tended to promote union and sympathy between different classes, especially in the country districts.

V. Retirement of Gladstone.

March 1, 1894. Gladstone's last speech in the House of Commons consisted largely of a strong protest against the opposition of the Lords to the Parish Councils Bill. He resigned March 3, not entirely because of age, failure of hearing and eyesight and the impossibility of carrying his Irish policy, but largely owing to his objection to the increase in the Naval Estimates caused by the desire to keep pace with the growing navies of other powers. The Queen, who had little sympathy with Gladstone's policy, showed her feeling by neglecting to consult him as to the choice of his successor, and offered the premiership to Lord Rosebery, March 3, 1894.

LORD ROSEBERY, PRIME MINISTER, MARCH, 1894, TO JUNE, 1895

The Liberal party, broken by the Home Rule controversy, was further weakened by the retirement of Gladstone, by the lack of union between the Imperialist Liberals who supported Rosebery and those who, like Harcourt, were more interested in social reform, by personal enmity between Rosebery and Harcourt (who was disappointed that he had not been made Prime Minister).

I. Sir William Harcourt's Budget, April, 1894.

- A. The increased naval expenditure, due to the idea that Great Britain must maintain "a two-power standard," made increased taxation necessary.
- B. Harcourt's Budget rearranged Succession Duties, which were to be paid on the whole of the estate (i.e. on real and personal property alike), according to a graduated scale, varying from 1 per cent. on property worth from £100-£500 to 8 per cent. on property worth £1,000,000.
- C. This was a democratic Budget, popular with the middle and lower classes but strongly opposed by the wealthy and property owners, who were chiefly affected by the increase in taxation. This Budget carried further the work of equalising the taxes on real and personal property, initiated by Gladstone in 1853 (page 842), and accepted the principle of graduated taxation. It was carried owing to the skill and tact of Harcourt, and has proved a valuable means of increasing the revenue.

II. "Ploughing the Sand."

- A. The Government, although feeling that the Conservative majority in the Lords would throw out Liberal measures, persisted in introducing Bills which they could not pass in the hope that the Lords by rejecting them would "fill up the cup"¹ and strengthen the demand for the abolition or alteration of their House.

¹ The phrase is incomplete. Presumably the words "of guilt" must be

B. Therefore they introduced several measures, including Harcourt's Local Veto Bill and a Welsh Disestablishment Bill, none of which passed. The Government were simply "ploughing the sands" [Asquith], and their failure discredited them far more than the Lords.

III. Resignation and Rout.

June 21, 1895. The Government was defeated on a snatch vote on the question of the supply of cordite for the Army, and Rosebery resigned on June 24. The General Election of 1895 completed the rout of the Liberal party, which had grown rapidly weaker since 1885. The "Newcastle Programme" was an attempt to bind closer those who remained Liberals after the Home Rule split but it was too wide, and, in the absence of Gladstone's uniting force, proved a source of weakness rather than strength. The differences of politics and of personal feeling between Harcourt and Rosebery weakened the party further. The Liberals now "could do nothing for Ireland, and yet could do nothing without Ireland," and the nation, by returning a majority of 152 Unionists to the new Parliament (August 12, 1895), showed that the cup of the Lords was not yet full.

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

1809-98

Life.

1809. Born at Liverpool, son of John Gladstone,¹ a philanthropic merchant. Educated at Eton and Oxford, where he was President of the Union and in 1831 took a double first in classics and mathematics.

1832. Conservative M.P. for Newark.

1838. Published *The State in its Relation with the Church*.

1841. Vice-President (1843 President) of the Board of Trade in Peel's second ministry.

1845. Resigned owing to the Maynooth grant.

1847-65. "Peelite" M.P. for Oxford University.

1852-5. Chancellor of the Exchequer in Aberdeen's ministry.

1853. His first great Budget.

1859-66. Chancellor of the Exchequer in Palmerston and Russell's ministries.

1861. Repeal of the Paper Duties.

1866. Introduced the Reform Bill.

1865-8. M.P. for South Lancashire.

1868. Became leader of the Liberal party in succession to Russell.

1868-80. M.P. for Greenwich.

1868-74. Prime Minister for the first time.

1869. Irish Disestablishment.

1870. Irish Land Bill and Forster's Education Bill.

1871. Abolition of Purchase of Commissions, *Alabama* Commission, Ballot Bill.

1873. Unsuccessful Irish University Bill.

1875. Denounced the "Bulgarian Atrocities."

1879-80. Midlothian Campaign.

1880-5. Prime Minister for the second time.

1881. Irish Coercion Bill, Majuba, second Irish Land Bill.

1882. Arabi Pasha.

1884. Reform Bill. Gordon sent to Khartoum.

1886. Prime Minister for the third time.

Failure of the first Home Rule Bill.

1892-4. Prime Minister for the fourth time.

1893. The Lords rejected the second Home Rule Bill.

1895. Advocated intervention in Armenia.

1898. May 19. Died.

II. His Religion.

A. His religious evolution was from "a very narrow creed" to the "high Christian doctrine" of tolerance.

- (1) 1833-8. He opposed the abolition of religious tests at Oxford and Cambridge and the admission of Jews to Parliament. In his book on *The State in its Relation with the Church* he had asserted that it is the duty of the State to profess and maintain a religion, but he showed by voting for the Maynooth grant in 1845 that he had changed his original ideas.
- (2) He disestablished the Irish Church, and accepted the principle of disestablishment for Scotland, although not for Wales.
- (3) He supported measures for the relief of Nonconformists.

1871. He abolished religious tests at Oxford and Cambridge.

1880. He passed the Burials Act (page 1036).

1891. He supported a Bill to enable Roman Catholics to hold the offices of Lord Chancellor and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He probably had greater sympathy with Roman Catholics than with Protestant Nonconformists. "To the last he considered Laud a saint and a martyr. At the name of Cromwell he shuddered and passed by on the other side" (Fitzmaurice).

- (4) 1851. He voted against the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill.
- (5) He supported Lord John Russell's motion to modify the parliamentary oath so as to enable Jews to sit in Parliament.

B. He was a devoted member of the Anglican Church.

- (1) He was an enthusiastic supporter of the Oxford Movement and his strong adherence to the High Church party led to a rumour that he was a Roman Catholic. This rumour he formally denied.

(2) He maintained that the Church should manage its own affairs, and objected to the interference of the State in ecclesiastical questions. The more men trust "to moral force and the less to penal proceedings the better for the Church."

1850. He opposed the employment of the Privy Council as the ultimate Court of Appeal in ecclesiastical cases.

1857. He made seventy speeches against the Divorce Bill, maintaining that, as Christian marriage was not only a civil contract but "a mystery of God," it ought not to be dissolved by a civil court.

1874. He opposed the Public Worship Regulation Act on the ground that doubt was possible on many points of Anglican ritual, and that it was unwise to give to individual bishops facilities for procuring a binding legal decision in all cases of dispute.

. (3) He warmly supported doctrinal instruction in schools and regarded unsectarian teaching as "glaringly partial."

C. He regarded politics as a part of Christian duty and held "that right and wrong depend upon the same set of maxims in public life and private."

1840. He said that in the Opium War "we are pursuing objects at variance with justice and religion." His acceptance of the principle of arbitration in the *Alabama* case was a recognition of the importance of right rather than might in the settlement of international disputes.

1877-9. His opposition to Turkey was largely due to his desire to protect Christians from persecution.

D. His religion deeply affected his whole life. "He was a great Christian statesman" (Salisbury), and the support of the Nonconformists, who warmly resented his attitude

towards denominational teaching, was largely due to the respect they felt for "a premier who believes in righteousness" (Spurgeon).

III. His Political Evolution.

A. "The rising hope of the stern unbending Tories," to 1841.

- (1) Macaulay's statement is largely true. His ecclesiastical views were Tory. He saw "a certain element of Antichrist in the Reform Bill." He was elected M.P. for Newark as a Protectionist.
- (2) But he was a Canningite and soon adopted a Liberal attitude in commercial questions.

B. A Peelite, 1841-59.

- (1) He became a strong Free Trader and his Budgets were "Free Trade Budgets."
- (2) In ecclesiastical questions he displayed growing sympathy with the voluntary principle.
- (3) 1851. His letters on the misgovernment¹ of Naples were an assertion of Liberal doctrines.
- (4) 1855. Chancellor of the Exchequer for three weeks in Palmerston's ministry. The first time he served under a Whig leader. But he was not yet definitely attached to either party, and in 1858 was invited to join Derby's Conservative ministry, to which he gave a general support.

C. A Liberal.

- (1) 1859. Although he had supported Derby on important questions he became Chancellor of the Exchequer under Palmerston. This apparent inconsistency exposed him to some adverse criticism.
- (2) 1860. The action of the Lords in rejecting the proposal to repeal the Paper Duties "had no inconsiderable share in propelling Mr. Gladstone along the paths of Liberalism" (Morley), and his support of the Reform Bill of 1866 made him for the first time a popular hero.

¹ Which he called "the negation of God erected into a system of government."

(3) 1865. Defeated at Oxford and elected M.P. for South Lancashire. The Conservative traditions of Oxford no longer hampered him. He said he was "unmuzzled," and the Liberals regarded his change of constituencies as political emancipation. He now came into contact with democracy at close quarters, and his first ministry (1868-74) represents the high-water mark of Liberalism.

(4) After 1885 he lost touch with his party.

- a. He never quite shook off his early Conservatism and was not in full sympathy with the new Radicalism of Chamberlain.
- β. His devotion to Home Rule diverted his attention from important questions and consequently alienated many of his followers.

IV. His Importance.

- A. He was one of the greatest of English financiers.
- (1) His financial policy was based on Free Trade. "His charge was to make England wealthy and to diffuse that wealth, especially among the working classes." He used finance as a means of social amelioration and opened up new channels of taxation. He said that economy was "the great article in my political creed" and therefore opposed increases in military expenditure.
- (2) His greatest financial achievements:—
 - a. 1853. The Succession Duty, which applied the legacy duty to real property.
 - β. His progressive reduction of the Income Tax, which fell to 2d. in 1874.
 - γ. His remission of taxation on necessities of life and on paper.
 - δ. The establishment of the Post Office Savings Bank (1861) and Post Office Annuities (1864).

B. He was a great constructive statesman, and his remarkable administrative ability was largely employed in "working out the institutions of his country." "The spirit of improvement was incarnate in him," and he had the power of embodying great principles in legislative form.

C. His foreign policy was influenced by his strong sympathy with nationality, by his belief in the "principles of brotherhood among nations and of their sacred independence." But he "seldom carried into foreign affairs the seriousness and grasp of detail which he brought to bear upon domestic legislation and finance" (Low and Sandars), and it was asserted that owing to his desire to apply high principles to foreign politics he sometimes failed to secure for Great Britain the benefits to which she was entitled.

V. His Eloquence.

A. He was a great orator with "the gift and glory of words," the effect of which was increased by his melodious voice and impressive presence. He was equally successful in Parliament and on the platform. His speech on the Irish University Bill (1873) threw the House "into a mesmeric trance," and one of his most successful efforts was a speech to a crowd of from 20,000 to 30,000 people on Blackheath, October 28, 1871.

B. He was a brilliant debater.

C. Although his Budget speeches were "masterpieces of financial exposition,"

(1) He at times became obscure owing to redundancy. Disraeli once said that he "was inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity," and after he had spoken an hour on the Maynooth Grant "even friendly and sympathetic listeners were left wholly at a loss for a clue to the labyrinth."

(2) His other fault was "over-refining in words," due perhaps to a desire to present every possible aspect of the question at issue. This also led to obscurity, and the obscurity of some of his speeches was one of the reasons for the charge of casuistry which was sometimes brought against him.

VI. Some Personal Characteristics.

A. His earnestness.

(1) He was intensely in earnest and took a most serious view of all questions. His earnestness supplied much of the driving power that enabled him to carry his measures, but sometimes prevented him from making due allowance for the limitations of smaller men.

(2) His eagerness to carry out his plans led him in a few cases to adopt methods which some regarded as rather sharp practice, e.g.—

- a. 1861. The "tacking" of the Repeal of the Paper Duties to the Budget;
- β. 1871. The use of the Royal Prerogative to abolish the purchase of commissions in the Army.
- γ. 1871. The appointments of Sir Robert Collier and Rev. W. W. Harvey (page 900).

(3) His earnestness sometimes led to serious mistakes through failure to appreciate the other side of the question at issue, e.g.—

- a. His declaration in favour of the Confederate;
- β. 1874. His violent attack on the Pope in his pamphlet on the Vatican Decrees: "No one can become her¹ convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another";
- γ. His devotion to Home Rule to the exclusion of other pressing questions greatly weakened his party.

B. His courage.

Fear of strong opposition never hindered him from adopting the course which seemed to him to be right.

C "He understood man but not men."

He had the power of influencing large masses, but was not always happy in dealing with individuals.

- (1) He showed lack of tact in dealing with the rank and file of his party, did not possess the bonhomie of Palmerston and Disraeli, and lacked social popularity.
- (2) He sometimes showed bad judgment in his choice of colleagues—e.g. the selection of Robert Lowe as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1868.
- (3) The Queen's dislike of Gladstone was partly due to her belief that he failed to show her due consideration.

D. He was a great student, profoundly interested in classical literature (especially Homer) and in theology. He had a good knowledge of French, German and Italian, and Goethe and Dante were among his favourite authors. He published *Homer and the Homeric Age*, and an edition of Bishop Butler's works, and wrote many articles in the leading magazines.

References :

- A. *Life of Gladstone*, by Morley, especially Book X, chap. x.
A History of Our Own Times, by McCarthy, chap. xxiv.
The Queen's Prime Ministers: Gladstone, by Russell.
(Sampson Low.)
Life of Lord Cranbrook, passim.
- B. *The Political History of England, 1857-1901*, p. 222.
(Longmans.)

LORD SALISBURY'S THIRD MINISTRY, JUNE, 1895, TO JULY, 1902

Prime Minister, and until 1900 Foreign Secretary, the Marquis of Salisbury; First Lord of the Treasury, A. J. Balfour; Lord President of the Council, Duke of Devonshire;¹ Colonial Secretary, J. Chamberlain.

The Conservatives and Liberal Unionists were now united, and some of the most important offices were held by the latter. Under this ministry there was a marked development of Imperialism, largely owing to the influence of Chamberlain, and there were some signs of a reactionary policy in domestic legislation (e.g. 1897 the Voluntary Schools Act, and 1899 the Government of London Bill).

I. Domestic Policy.

A. Education (page 1048).

(1) The Education Bill, 1896.

(2) The Voluntary Schools Act, 1897—

Gave a grant of 5s. per child to voluntary schools

(3) The Board of Education Act, 1901.

B. Agriculture. The Agricultural Rating Act, 1896—

Devoted about £1,000,000 to the relief of rates and lowered the assessment of land.

The relief afforded amounted to 1s. per acre, and, as land alone was affected, the Act was regarded, with some justice, as a piece of class legislation.

C. The Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897.

Extended compensation to workmen (excluding agricultural labourers and domestic servants), but allowed workmen to contract out of its provisions.

D. The Government of London Act, 1899—

Created twenty-eight practically independent municipalities in the area of the London County Council and continued the privileges of the City of London.

¹ Formerly Marquis of Hartington.

- (1) A great measure of decentralisation.
- (2) The support accorded to the Act by Conservatives was probably partly due to some jealousy of the great power of the London County Council and to disagreement with its "Progressive" policy.

I. Foreign Policy.

A. Armenia.

- (1) The news of massacres of Armenian Christians (excused by the Sultan on the plea that the Armenians were anarchists and revolutionists) had led Lord Kimberley (Foreign Secretary in Lord Rosebery's ministry 1894-5) to attempt to check them by reviving the Concert of Europe. When the opposition of Russia, due partly to fear of the establishment of an independent Christian state in Asia Minor, had prevented this, Lord Kimberley proposed that Great Britain should intervene single-handed.
- (2) Lord Salisbury, who had little sympathy with the Armenians and objected to any measure which might lead to European complications, tried to restore the Concert of Europe, and proposed to establish a mixed commission of Europeans and Turks to supervise the disturbed area. The Sultan pretended to accept this arrangement but actually prevented it from being put into execution, maintaining that hard measures were necessary to crush revolution in Armenia, and knowing that Russia would not support any plan of armed interference. The massacres continued, and 100,000 Armenians were murdered in 1894, 1895 and 1896.
- (3) August 25, 1896 Some Armenians blew up part of Constantinople and seized the Ottoman Bank.
Their action proved the reality of some revolutionary plot and strengthened the Sultan's position.
- (4) Consequent massacre of some 5000 Armenians in Constantinople.
Salisbury's policy proved a complete failure

B. Crete.

- (1) 1896. Anarchy in Crete due to rising of Cretan Christians against Turkish misrule. The powers demanded that Christians should receive a share in the government and surrounded the island with their fleets.
- (2) The Greeks, in answer to the appeal of the Cretans, landed troops in Crete to secure the independence of the island.
- (3) April, 1897. Consequent outbreak of the Greco-Turkish War. Defeat of the Greeks, for whom Salisbury procured more favourable terms than the Turks had at first offered.
- (4) The Powers bombarded Candia and threatened to intervene single-handed. The Turks therefore evacuated Crete, and on December 21st, 1898, Prince George of Greece became Governor of Crete.
Thus Salisbury had succeeded in protecting the Greeks and Cretans from the Turks.

C. Venezuela.

- (1) The Republic of Venezuela claimed all the land granted to Spain by Pope Alexander VI, 1493 (page 312), including part of British Guiana obtained by Great Britain from Holland, 1814.
- (2) President Cleveland, hoping to strengthen his chance of re-election, asserted the Monroe Doctrine (page 738) and strongly supported the claim of Venezuela, 1895.
- (3) October, 1899. The English claims admitted by the arbitrators to whom the case had been referred.
A great triumph for Salisbury, who had directed the negotiations with much skill.

D. China.

- (1) The growth of European influence in China.
The Japanese, who had abolished feudalism in 1869,

had adopted Western civilisation with such success that they defeated the Chinese in the war of 1894. The nations of Europe endeavoured to strengthen their position in China, the weakness of which had been revealed by the war.

- a. January, 1898. Germany, desiring a port on the Pacific as a station for its rapidly growing navy, obtained a lease of Kiao Chow.
- β. March, 1898. Russia, wanting an ice-free port as the terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railway, secured a lease of Port Arthur.
- γ. France, mistress of Tonquin, wished to extend her influence in Southern China.
- δ. Great Britain had secured 80 per cent of the foreign trade of China and desired to maintain her commercial advantage but not to obtain territory. But, as attempts to prevent other powers from obtaining territory had failed, Salisbury changed his policy and occupied Wei-hai-wei May, 1898, and land on the mainland adjoining Hongkong. He succeeded in preventing the alienation of more territory by dividing China into "spheres of influence" of the various European powers, each of which was to enjoy a monopoly of commerce in its own sphere. Great Britain's sphere included the Yang-tze-kiang Valley. Some maintained that British interests had been sacrificed, but the difficulties arising from the presence of the French in the Nile Valley (page 938) seriously hampered Salisbury's action in China.

(2) The opposition of the Chinese to foreign influence.

National feeling in China was roused by the victory of Japan, by concessions to European powers, hatred

of the "foreign devils," and by the reforms introduced by the young Emperor, who was suspected of a desire to abolish ancestor worship.

1898. The Empress Dowager seized supreme authority. Her success strengthened the opposition to foreign influence and led to the rising of the "Sacred Harmony Fists" or "Boxers," who murdered foreigners and native Christians.

June 20, 1900. The British Legation at Pekin, in which many Europeans had taken refuge, besieged by the Boxers. The siege was raised in August, 1900, by troops of all nations, under Count von Waldersee, and the united action of the European powers secured the punishment of leading Boxers and the banishment of Prince Tuan, the head of the anti-foreign movement.

Great Britain had secured her commercial advantages. But as Russia and Germany had obtained a footing in China Salisbury's policy was not completely successful.

E. The North-West Frontier.

The policy of maintaining the independence of Afghanistan was accepted by both Conservatives and Liberals, and the North-West Frontier had been roughly settled. But there was continual danger from some of the wild border tribes, to whom it was suspected that help was given by the Afghans.

(1) 1895. Chitral.

Attack on a British outpost at Chitral, which was relieved (April 20) after a siege of forty-six days.

Lord Salisbury occupied Chitral and strengthened the British position by the construction of a military road and by establishing a strong outpost at Malakand.

(2) 1897. The Tirah Campaign.

General rising of Mohmands, Afridis, and Orakzais owing to fear of the extension of British authority

and to a belief in the power of Islam, due partly to the defeat of the Greeks by the Turks.

Expedition of General Sir W. Lockhart to the Tirah valley with a force of 60,000 men. The Afridis compelled to surrender after a most difficult campaign, October, 1898.

F. The Boer War, 1899-1902 (page 1011).

G. Egypt, 1896-1899 (page 937).

III. The Development of Imperialism.

- A. Beaconsfield had shown himself the "champion of the imperial idea and of the closer union of the Empire," and had advocated colonial self-government accompanied by an imperial tariff, the definition of the military responsibilities of the Colonies towards Great Britain, and the establishment of a colonial council in London.
- B. Imperialism, though temporarily discredited by the defeat of Beaconsfield's ministry in 1880, and although not favoured by Gladstone, was strongly supported by Lord Rosebery.
- C. Mr. Chamberlain strongly advocated a closer union between the Colonies and the Mother Country, and during his tenure of the Colonial Office (1895-1902) the cause of Imperialism was strengthened by—
 - (1) 1897. The discussion of questions of imperial defence and of the condition of trade between Great Britain and her Colonies, which formed the main topics in the conferences of colonial delegates who attended the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria.
 - (2) January 1, 1901. The Federation of the Australian Commonwealth (page 995).
 - (3) 1899-1902. The Boer War, during which soldiers from Canada and Australia rendered valuable assistance to the British armies.

References:

- A. *Life of Robert, Marquis of Salisbury*, by Lady G. Cecil (Hodder and Stoughton.) Vol. IV. [pp 219-293.]
- The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, Vol. III.
- British Foreign Policy, 1815-1933*, by Edwards (Methuen), chaps. ix. and x.

CANADA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

I. Canadian Difficulties, 1800-38.

A. Racial difficulties.

- (1) The Canada Act of 1791 (page 655) had aggravated the racial difference by dividing the colony into Upper (i.e. English) and Lower (i.e. French) Canada.
- (2) The French of Lower Canada were Roman Catholics. They retained the French language and laws, held their land by an antiquated feudal tenure, were unenterprising, and had little desire for self-government.
- (3) The British of New Brunswick¹ and Nova Scotia and of Upper Canada were energetic and anxious for self-government. Their numbers were considerably increased by the arrival of emigrants at the beginning of the nineteenth century; they spread westwards to the Red River, and did much to develop the resources of the country by the construction of the Rideau Canal.
- (4) The French and British seemed unable to coalesce. "The two sets of colonists never met together except in the jury-box, and then only for the obstruction of justice."

B. Religious difficulties.

The Protestants were in a majority in Upper Canada, where one-seventh of the Crown lands had been set apart for the endowment of the Anglican Church. These "Church reserves" were strongly resented by the Roman Catholics.

¹ Colonised largely by "United Empire Loyalists," who left the United States at the end of the war, 1783.

C. Political difficulties.

- (1) The French of Lower Canada tended to use their majority in the elected Representative Assembly to oppress the British. The latter, who wanted self-government and objected to French law and land tenure, were more powerful in the Legislative Council nominated by the governors, who naturally favoured the British. Repeated quarrels between Assembly and Council culminated in the refusal of the former in 1832 to vote adequate supplies.
- (2) In Upper Canada there was a strong desire for local self-government to develop the resources of the colony. This desire was strengthened by the growth of the Reform movement at home and by the republicanism of the United States.
- (3) Much discontent was caused in Upper Canada by the successful attempt of a political clique, "The Family Compact," to secure the chief offices.
- (4) Political discontent was aggravated by the action of the Whigs, who, in 1837, while giving to the Quebec Assembly control over the Customs, refused to give them responsible government.

D. The danger from the United States.

- (1) A number of Americans desired to conquer Canada. The war of 1812 was undertaken partly with this object, and some of the Northerners wished to counterbalance the advantage secured by the Southerners owing to the possible annexation of Texas¹ by conquering Canada.
- (2) But the feeling in Canada was generally unfavourable to annexation by the United States.
 - a. The French Roman Catholics, though not well disposed towards Great Britain, were monarchists. They had viewed with disfavour the French

Revolution, and were strongly opposed to the puritanism of the New England States and to American republicanism.

β. The United Empire Loyalists objected to the idea of amalgamation with the States, and the British of Upper Canada successfully repulsed the invasion of Canada during the war of 1812.

E. Rebellion, 1837.

(1) Rising in Upper Canada under McKenzie. Failure of his attack on Toronto. The rising suppressed by the colonial loyalists.

(2) Rising in Lower Canada under Papineau, the Speaker of the House of Assembly. Major¹ Head, in spite of the danger from McKenzie, sent regular troops from Upper Canada, who easily defeated Papineau. Head's action, though successful, was rash.

These rebellions were largely due to the difficulties arising from conflicts between the popularly elected Assemblies and the nominated Councils.

II. Lord Durham.

A. 1838. Lord Durham sent out as High Commissioner to arrange a new constitution and to govern the country until the new constitution was established. His powers were to be exercised in accordance with the Acts of the Imperial Parliament, but he thought he had been sent out as a Dictator and

a. Deported some of the malcontents to Bermuda without trial;

β. Set aside the Council appointed to advise him.

These arbitrary acts were strongly resented in England and Canada and led to the recall of Durham, whom the *Times* called "The Lord High Seditioner." He "made a country but marred a career."

B. Lord Durham's Report.

One of the most important public papers in British history.

- (1) Stated that the causes of discontent were racial antagonism between French and English, differences between Assemblies and Councils, the clergy reserves and the Family Compact.
- (2) Stated that, while the questions of the form of the new constitution, foreign policy, external trade and the disposal of the western territories must be reserved for the Imperial Parliament, the "Crown must consent to carry the government on by means of those in whom the representative members have confidence," i.e. the ministers (though not the governor) were to be responsible to the Assemblies.
- (3) Advocated a larger measure of self-government, especially in local affairs.
- (4) Advocated the union of Upper and Lower Canada and suggested the federation of all the British colonies in North America.

C. 1840. The Union Act.

Lord Durham's suggestions were carried out in the Union Act, which united the two provinces, gave the Assemblies control over colonial finance, retained Imperial control over Church endowments and waste lands, made English the official language and paved the way for responsible government.

"It is possibly the most important service which Canada has rendered to the Empire, that from her constitutional struggles arose that form of complete self-government under which the unity of the Empire is reconciled with the practical independence of its daughter communities" (*Woodward*).

D. The working out of the constitution.

By 1854 [largely owing to Lord Elgin, Governor General of Canada (1847-54)] the Council had become elective, the Navigation Acts had been repealed, the clergy reserves had been handed over to local control for educational and social purposes, the Anglican Church had become a voluntary body, French had been recognised, as well as English, as an official language, and the capital of Canada had been fixed at Ottawa.

III. The Development of British North America.**A. The settlement of boundaries.****(1) Maine.**

1842. A dispute with the United States as to the boundary of Maine was settled by the Ashburton Treaty, which was generally regarded as unduly favourable to the States.

(2) Oregon. 1846.

The increase in the population of Oregon necessitated the definition of the boundary on the western frontier. The question was difficult. A militant party¹ in the States demanded that the boundary should be the parallel 54° 40'. But President Polk, hampered by war with Mexico, proved conciliatory, and the parallel 49° was accepted as the boundary from Lake Superior to the Pacific, Vancouver remaining British.

B. Manitoba and the Hudson Bay Company.

(1) The Hudson Bay Company, founded by Royal Charter 1670, had long been supreme in the west. A rival company, the North-West Company, after a period of opposition, was amalgamated with the Hudson Bay Company in 1821.

¹ Their cry was "54° 40' or fight."

- (2) 1811-12. Selkirk Settlement was established on the Red River by the Earl of Selkirk. The settlement destroyed by the North-West Company.
- (3) Formation of the Red River Settlement by Earl Selkirk. The new settlement bought by the Hudson Bay Company, and, although it secured some measure of self-government, included in Hudson Bay territory. Fort Garry¹ (built 1835) became the chief station of the Company.
- (4) 1869-70. Louis Riel's rebellion.

1869. The Dominion bought the Red River Settlement, but the undue haste of the Canadian officials in taking possession and the neglect of the claims of the Indians led to a rising under Riel, a French Canadian, who proclaimed the independence of the north-west. Colonel Wolseley² was sent out to quell the rising, but the insurgents submitted without fighting, and Riel fled to the United States.

1870. The Red River Settlement became the province of Manitoba, which received responsible government under a Lieutenant-Governor.

C. 1858. Foundation of the province of British Columbia, necessitated by the need of organised government to control the miners who had flocked into the country. Vancouver included in the new province, 1866.

Canada thus secured access to the sea at the western end of her boundary line.

D. The Indians.

- (1) 1871-7. Formation of Indian "Reservations," one square mile of territory allotted for every five Indians.
- (2) 1885. Second rebellion of Riel, owing to the objection of the Indians to new land surveys and to his desire to secure for the north-west an independent constitution. The rebellion suppressed and Riel hanged.

¹ Now Winnipeg.

² Now Viscount Wolseley.

IV. Federation.

A. Federation had been advocated by Lord Durham, and the movement to secure it was strengthened by the need of securing a uniform system of law and by the desire for closer union to strengthen resistance to possible attacks from the United States.

B. 1867. The Dominion of Canada Act.

- (1) New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Ontario, and Quebec joined the Federation.
- (2) Each province kept its own local government, Parliament and ministry, and was governed by a Lieutenant-Governor nominated by the Governor-General.
- (3) A Dominion Parliament, including a nominated Senate and a representative Assembly, met at Ottawa to decide questions affecting the Dominion.

C. Subsequent additions to the Federation—

1870. Manitoba.

1871. British Columbia.

1873. Prince Edward Island.

Thus all the provinces joined the Federation except Newfoundland.

The Dominion of Canada is practically independent and is united to Great Britain only through the Governor-General, who represents the Crown. But the union is strengthened by the strong loyalty of the Dominion to the Mother Country, which was shown by the help sent by Canada to Great Britain during the wars in Egypt (Canadian boatmen took part in the expedition to relieve Gordon) and in the Transvaal.

V. The Dominion of Canada and the United States.

The relations between the Dominion and the United States have been at times somewhat strained, and disputes have weakened any tendency to amalgamation.

- A. 1886. The Americans, who had purchased Alaska from Russia and claimed authority over the adjoining waters, attacked the Canadian seal fisheries in the Behring Sea. After much controversy compensation was paid by the United States to Canadian fishermen
- B. The question as to the exact rights of the States to control the access to the rich goldfield at Klondyke (discovered 1896-7) led to much difficulty and was not settled by 1900.

References :

- A. *History of Our Own Times*, chap. III.
The Growth of the Empire, by Jose, chap. III. D-F; chap. IX. A. (Murray.)

AUSTRALIA

I. Up to 1788.

- A. Belief in the existence of a great southern continent, "Terra Australis," had led to various expeditions. 1606: Torres, a Spaniard, got within the Great Barrier Reef. 1642: Abel Tasman discovered Van Diemen's Land. But these early explorers did not understand that Australia was the continent they sought and they thought that it consisted of a number of islands.
- B. 1768-71. Voyage of Captain James Cook in the *Endeavour*.
 - a. He discovered that New Zealand was two islands and not a part of the supposed southern continent.
 - β. 1770. He landed at Botany Bay,¹ named the country New South Wales,² and claimed it for Great Britain.
 - γ. He thus distinguished the mainland from New Zealand.

¹ So called from its luxuriant vegetation.

² Owing to its resemblance to the coast of South Wales.

C. Cook had shown the possibility of developing Australia. The Government determined to send thither the convicts whom, after the loss of the United States, they could no longer send to America, and the acceptance of convicts was made a condition of Government support for the new colony.

II. New South Wales.

New South Wales, the original colony, extended from Cape York to Tasmania.

A. Captain Arthur Phillip.

- (1) 1788. January 18. Phillip, the founder of the Australian nation, reached Botany Bay with the first consignment of 750 convicts.
- (2) January 26. Phillip occupied Port Jackson, renamed Sydney¹ Cove, only six days before the French arrived.

B. Early difficulties.

- (1) Owing to the French wars, 1793-1815, the British Government neglected Australia.
- (2) The Government was purely military. It was difficult to maintain discipline among the convicts, and the New South Wales Corps levied for this purpose proved insubordinate; its officers gained control of the liquor traffic, and made great profits by speculating in food; it was disbanded after kidnapping Governor Bligh (the "Bligh Mutiny," 1808).
- (3) The presence of the convicts deterred free colonists from going to Australia. The consequent lack of skilled craftsmen at first seriously hampered expansion, which the early governors discouraged owing to the difficulty of controlling a large area.

¹ Called after Lord Sydney, Secretary of State.

(4) There was great scarcity of food at first and, up to 1807, the colony depended upon rice from China, but later the natural fertility of the soil ensured adequate supplies.

C. The development of the colony.

(1) There was no opposition from the degraded natives or from Europeans.

(2) Exploration.

1797-1799. Bass discovered Bass's Straits and surveyed the Moreton Bay district.

May, 1813. The Blue Mountains crossed; opening up (1815-27) of the Bathurst Plains, Liverpool Plains, and Darling Downs.

1828-31. Sturt explored the Murray, Darling, and Murrumbidgee. The new territory was occupied by "squatters," one of whom, Captain John Macarthur, a member of the New South Wales Corps, introduced Spanish merino sheep and planted the first vineyard, thus laying the foundations of the wine and wool trades.

(3) Discoveries.

New South Wales.

Coal was discovered at Newcastle early in the century.

Victoria.

1851. Discovery of gold at Bathurst and Ballarat.

At the "Eureka Stockade" Ballarat miners unsuccessfully resisted the troops sent to keep order and to compel them to pay fees for licence to dig.

(4) Lachlan Macquarie, Governor 1809-21.

Unlike his predecessors, Macquarie

a. Favoured the expansion of the colony, and by constructing roads facilitated approach to newly discovered districts, especially to the ~~P thru + Plains~~

B. The free population increased rapidly as the resources of the colony were developed, and serious difficulties arose owing to the opposition of free settlers to the convicts. Macquarie was a prominent "emancipist" and tried to secure full legal rights for time-expired convicts. He "turned a gaol into a colony."

(5) The end of transportation.

The degrading conditions under which the convicts lived led to gross immorality. The free settlers objected strongly to the convicts, and the discovery of gold made transportation no longer possible, as convicts would have increased the danger arising from the turbulence of the mining camps. The example of Cape Colony, which in 1849 refused to accept convicts, strengthened the "exclusivists" in Australia, who secured the exclusion of convicts from New South Wales in 1840, Queensland in 1849, and Tasmania in 1853.

1853. Penal servitude was adopted instead of transportation. But Western Australia, which did not possess the natural advantages of the eastern colonies, owed its development largely to the convicts, for whom it petitioned in 1846 and who were sent out until 1867.

III. The Formation of Other Colonies.

A Division of New South Wales.

(1) Tasmania became a separate colony in 1812.

It owed much to Governor Arthur (1823-36), who kept in order the convicts, more dangerous in Tasmania than elsewhere, and deported the aborigines.

(2) Queensland became a separate colony in 1859.

The original settlement at Moreton Bay, 1826, was for convicts, but the squatters of the Darling Downs became the leading element in Queensland.

(3) Victoria became a separate colony in 1851.

Melbourne¹ founded 1837. The need of effective local administration due to the discovery of gold was an important reason for separation.

B. South Australia.

- (1) Founded as a separate colony, 1834. Adelaide built, 1836.
- (2) Gibbon Wakefield's scheme, which aimed at establishing a wealthy landlord class, nearly ruined the colony by its failure, but Captain (afterwards Sir) George Grey restored financial prosperity.
- (3) Copper was discovered at Kapunda, 1843, and Burra Burra, 1845.

C. Western Australia.

1827. Settlement of Perth on the Swan River.

IV. Government.

A. Military rule.

At first, owing to the danger from the convicts, military rule was established and the Governors exercised absolute power.

B. Limitation of the Governor's power.

1823. Appointment of a Council of Crown nominees to advise the Governor.

C. Representative government.

- (1) Different opinions were held in England as to the colonies.

a. Cobden and Bright regarded them as a burden which ought to be thrown off.

β. Lord John Russell refused to give up the colonies, but determined to give them constitutional freedom.

(2) 1843. The beginning of representative government was made by the appointment of a Legislative Council for New South Wales, two-thirds of the members being elected.

Representative government was made possible by the growth of the free population, facilitated in 1851, by the extension of the P. and O. service to Australia.

(3) 1850. The Australian Colonies Act was brought in by Russell and provided—

- a. That Legislative Councils should be established in Victoria, Tasmania, and South Australia;
- β. That a joint assembly of all the colonies should settle the questions of tariffs and appropriation of waste lands.

This clause, containing the germ of federation, was opposed by the Conservatives and dropped.

(4) Soon afterwards each colony received permission to select its own form of government, and by 1856 New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania¹ established two chambers, adopted a wide franchise and a form of cabinet government.

(5) Representative government in Australia has proved very democratic.

1872. Victoria adopts the payment (£300 per annum) of members.

1891. New South Wales passed an Eight Hours Bill for coal mines.

1894. South Australia granted Women's Suffrage.

D. Federation.

(1) 1850. Lord John Russell's proposal for the appointment of a federal assembly for Australia was defeated.

¹ "Van Diemen's Land" had been closely associated with convicts, and the name was changed to Tasmania on the abolition of transportation.

(2) The growing importance of difficult questions as to the relation of Australia to foreign powers made closer union desirable, and a Conference at Sydney in 1883 declared for federation. These questions included—

- a. The treatment of Asiatic immigrants, especially Kanaka labourers for Queensland cotton and sugar plantations, and Chinese.
- β. The occupation by Germany of Northern New Guinea (1884).
- γ. The escape of French convicts from New Caledonia to Australia.

(3) 1885. The Australasian Federation Act was passed, but New South Wales, a Free Trade colony, refused to combine with her Protective neighbours, and the Federal Council which was established by Victoria, Queensland, West Australia, South Australia and Tasmania was a very loose bond of union.

(4) 1900. The Australian Commonwealth Act passed by the British Parliament after all the colonies, except Western Australia, had by referendum declared their agreement. It came into force January 1, 1901, and provided—

- a. That legislative power should be vested in a Federal Parliament consisting of the Sovereign, a Senate, and a House of Representatives;
- β. That a Governor-General should be appointed to represent the Sovereign.
- γ. The people of each state to elect six senators to hold office for six years, but the Senate was not to introduce or amend money Bills.
- δ. The House of Representatives to be elected by popular vote every three years, and to be twice as large as the Senate.

- c. All members of Parliament to be paid £400 a year.
- c. Parliament to have power to deal with trade, finance, the postal service, and military and naval defence.

References:

- A. *The Growth of the Empire*, by Jose, chaps. vi. and ix. B. (Murray.)
- European Colonies*, by Payne, chap. xii. (Macmillan.)
- C. *A First Fleet Family*, by Becke. (Unwin.)
- The Inimitable Mrs. Massingham*, by Compton. (Chatto.)
- Robbery under Arms*, by Boldrewood.

NEW ZEALAND

- A. Early history.
 - (1) 1642. Discovered by Tasman.
 - (2) 1769-70. Circumnavigated by Captain Cook, who thus proved it was not part of "Terra Australis."
 - (3) In the beginning of the nineteenth century, in spite of the restraining influence of Dr. S. Marsden, "the Apostle of New Zealand," conflicts arose between the Maoris, a ferocious people very tenacious of their rights, and a colony of British undesirables who settled on the Bay of Islands. But Parliament refused formally to annex the islands.
- 1839. The North Island secured by the New Zealand Company (recently founded by Gibbon Wakefield) two days before the French arrived, and the South Island by a British officer four days before a French fleet appeared.
- B. The Treaty of Waitangi, 1840.
 - (1) 1839. New Zealand declared a part of New South Wales. Much land obtained from the Maoris by the New Zealand Company, who founded Wellington.

(2) 1840. Governor Hobson made the Treaty of Waitangi which provided—

- a. That the Maoris should acknowledge the authority of the Queen;
- b. That land, which belonged to the tribe and not to individuals, should be sold only by consent of the tribe and only to the Governor representing the Queen.

C. Sir George Grey, Governor 1845-53 and 1861-7.

- (1) He maintained the Treaty of Waitangi and strongly resisted attempts of speculators, especially the New Zealand Company, to buy land from the Maoris, whom he recognised as British subjects.
- (2) 1845-52. South Island colonised. A Presbyterian colony established at Otago and an Episcopalian at Canterbury.
- (3) Federal Government, 1852.

Grey had refused to adopt unsuitable regulations made by Parliament, which accepted his suggestions in 1852. A Federal Constitution was established for New Zealand, which had been recognised as independent of New South Wales in 1841. The government was vested in a Governor, an Upper House nominated by the Governor, an elected House of Representatives. Local government was left to elected Provincial Councils.

- (4) His reappointment in 1861 was due to difficulties about native lands which led to the Maori Wars, 1860-70, in which the British, though finally successful, suffered much loss in storming the Maori "pas" or *forts*.

D. Later history.

(1) 1876. The Provincial Councils were abolished. The North and South Islands were made one colony and divided into counties for local government.

The Maoris sent four representatives to Parliament.

(2) New Zealand has proved very democratic.

Owing partly to the support of Sir George Grey (Prime Minister, 1877-9), adult suffrage, triennial Parliaments, and the taxation of land values were adopted, and in 1893 the franchise was conferred upon women.

JAMAICA

I. The Final Abolition of Slavery, 1838, and the Jamaica Bill, 1839.

A. The system of temporary apprenticeship till 1840 of slaves who had been set free by the Emancipation Act of 1833 (page 754) led to the overwork and severe punishment of apprentices by planters, who wished to take full advantage of the system while it lasted.

B. 1838. Parliament sought to improve the condition of the apprentices by the "Act to Amend the Abolition of Slavery Act," and the Assembly of Jamaica decided, with great reluctance, to give the apprentices their full freedom from August 1, 1838.

C. The planters endeavoured by means of low wages and the high rents they demanded for land occupied by the freed slaves to strengthen their position, and former slaves committed to prison were barbarously treated. The blacks were supported by the Governor, magistrates and r i - i n - r i -

D. The Jamaica Bill, 1839.

- (1) Parliament therefore passed the Jamaica Prisons Bill, which transferred the management of the prisons from local authorities to the Governor.
- (2) The planters, impoverished by the emancipation of their apprentices, objected to the Bill, which they regarded as an interference with the constitutional rights of the Assembly.
- (3) The Assembly, representing the planters' interest, resolved for the present "to abstain from the exercise of any legislative functions."
- (4) 1839. Melbourne's ministry therefore introduced the Jamaica Bill to suspend the constitution for five years and to vest the government, with power of legislation, in the Governor and three Commissioners.

The Bill, opposed by Peel, was carried by only five votes in the Commons. Resignation of Melbourne, May 7, 1839.

E. The Settlement of Jamaica.

Many questions (e.g. the terms of occupancy of waste lands, the relations of master and servant), arising as the result of emancipation, needed prompt settlement. The Whig Government¹ introduced a Bill which authorised the Governor and his Council

- a. To pass measures dealing with these questions;
- β. To renew certain laws passed each year to facilitate the government if the Assembly refused to pass the necessary legislation.

The second clause was passed, but the first was thrown out, owing partly to Peel's opposition. The failure to pass the first clause was one of the chief reasons for the rising of 1865.

¹ Which had returned to office owing to the Bedchamber Question, page 775.

II. The Jamaica Insurrection, 1865.

A. Causes.

- (1) Grave discontent was caused by the low rate of wages, the unfair administration of the law in the interests of the planters, the demand for high rents for lands which had been occupied by the blacks in the expectation that no payment would be required except certain Government charges.
- (2) Much indignation caused owing to the treatment of George Wm. Gordon, a native Baptist who had been suspended from the magistracy and prevented, although duly elected, from acting as churchwarden in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East. Gordon was the champion of the blacks, and at public meetings he had spoken strongly on their behalf, but had not advocated rebellion.

B. The insurrection.

- (1) October, 1865. An attempt to arrest some rioters led to an attack on the Court House at Morant Bay and the murder of eighteen whites. The Riot Act read. The disturbance easily quelled by military force.
- (2) Many outrages committed by the blacks in the county of Surrey.

C. The suppression of the insurrection.

- (1) Governor Edward John Eyre proclaimed martial law in the county of Surrey (excluding the town of Kingston).
- (2) The insurrection suppressed by skilful military manœuvres followed by cruel punishment—439 blacks executed, 600 (including some women) flogged, 1000 houses burned.
- (3) Execution of Gordon.
Gordon surrendered to a warrant at Kingston (which was not under martial law). He was taken to

Morant Bay (which was under martial law), tried by court-martial of three young officers, and sentenced to death. The sentence confirmed by the officer commanding and by the Governor. Gordon executed October 23, 1865.

The execution of Gordon was absolutely illegal. The prisoner was brought by unlawful means before an illegal tribunal and tried upon testimony taken in ludicrous opposition to all the rules of evidence.

D. The Commission of Inquiry.

(1) Owing largely to the Jamaica Committee, of which J. S. Mill was the most prominent member, a Commission of Inquiry was sent to Jamaica. The Commission—

- a. Praised Eyre for “the skill, promptitude, and vigour which he manifested during the early stage of the insurrection”;
- b. Stated that punishments had been too heavy, executions too frequent, and floggings cruel;
- c. Denied that there had been any general insurrection;
- d. Asserted that Gordon’s guilt had not been established and that, in spite of his vehement language, he had not intended to support rebellion.

(2) There was a sharp difference of opinion as to Eyre. Some held that he “saved the white population and put down the insurrection.” The Jamaica Committee prosecuted him for undue severity, but the bills of indictment were thrown out by the grand jury. In 1872 the expenses incurred for his defence were defrayed by a grant from the Liberal Government, which thus practically approved of his action.

Reference :

A. *History of Our Own Times*, chap. **XLIX**.

BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA

I. Early History of Cape Colony.

- A. 1650. The Dutch East India Company occupied the Cape of Good Hope as a calling station for their Indian fleets.
- B. 1687. Huguenot refugees, expelled from France, came to the Cape and introduced the vine.
- C. Owing to the oppression of Dutch officials in Capetown the other settlers, "the Boers," of the colony became united, and their hatred for Europe led to the beginning of "Afrikaner sentiment," while the grave danger from the Kaffirs¹ was one of the causes of their deep animosity to the natives.
- D. 1814. The Prince of Orange sold to Great Britain his territory in South Africa, which the British had occupied since they captured Capetown, 1806.
- E. 1820. British emigrants arrive in Cape Colony.

II. From British Occupation to the Recognition of the Transvaal and Orange Free State.

A. The extension of British territory.

- (1) From 1811 to 1878 there was continual danger from the Kaffirs, and from 1812 to 1836 the colony was menaced by the Zulus, a powerful military tribe, skilfully led by Tchaka (who organised its army) and his murderer Dingaan. The Zulus had devastated much territory and had driven the Basutos to the Orange River, and the Matabele (an offshoot of the Zulus) to the Limpopo.
- (2) 1835. Governor Benjamin D'Urban defeated the Kaffirs, determined to establish buffer states and annexed Queen Adelaide Province, the land from the Great Fish River (the old boundary) to the Kei.
- 1836. The annexation repudiated and D'Urban recalled by the home Government.

¹ The *out* *n* *tribe* *of* *the* *P*

- (3) 1843. Natal (occupied by the Boers, 1838) annexed
- (4) 1848. Sir Harry Smith, adopting D'Urban's policy, annexed the Orange River sovereignty.
- (5) 1853. The home Government, ill acquainted with the condition of Cape Colony, was generally opposed to expansion, although

1820. It had established 5000 British settlers in Algoa Bay. This opposition led to the recall of D'Urban, 1836, and to the very reluctant assent of Earl Grey (Secretary for War and the Colonies, 1846-52) to Smith's policy.

B. The Great Trek.

- (1) Growing discontent of the Boers.
 - (a) The great majority of the Boers spoke only Taal¹ and strongly resented the recognition of English as the only official language.
 - (b) The reduction of the value of the paper dollar from 4s. to 1s. 6d. deprived the Boers of sixty per cent of their cash.
 - (c) Slavery.

The Boers justified slavery by reference to the Old Testament. They treated their Hottentot slaves with cruelty, although the Black Circuit, a Commission appointed in 1812 largely owing to the protests of the London Missionary Society, showed that the charges of cruelty had been exaggerated.

- 1834. Abolition of slavery in Cape Colony.
 - α. The slaves were worth £3,000,000.
 - β. The Boers were promised less than half this amount, payable in London.
- (d) 1836. The abolition of Queen Adelaide Province and the recall of D'Urban made the Boers

¹ Cape Dutch.

fear that the British Government would not protect them against the Kaffirs. This was the final cause of the Great Trek.

(2) The Great Trek, 1836.

(a) The Transvaal.

1837. Potgieter drove the Matabele out of the Transvaal and at Winburg drew up a constitution establishing the Dutch Calvinistic religion, denying civic rights but granting personal liberty to natives.

(b) December 16, 1838. Defeat of Dingaan, the Zulu chief on "Dingaan's Day," and occupation of Natal.

(c) 1847. The Natal Dutch, led by Pretorius, trekked to the Vaal, fearing that the British, who in 1843 had annexed Natal, would not keep the natives in check. Beginning of the Transvaal Republic.

(d) 1838. Foundation of the Orange Free State.

C. The Orange Free State.

1848. Formation of a new British colony, the Orange River Sovereignty, between the Orange and the Vaal. The Boers, under Pretorius, resisted, but were defeated at Boomplatz, August 29, 1848.

1854. Recognition of the independent Orange Free State. Due to—

a. The heavy cost of the Kaffir Wars;

β. The desire of the home Government to lessen the burden of empire.

The Boers themselves were most unwilling to receive independence, as they feared they could not resist the Basutos.

D. The independence of the Transvaal.

February 17, 1852. The Sand River Convention.

Formal recognition of the right of the Boers to manage their own affairs.

III. From the Foundation of the Orange Free State, 1854, to the Convention of London, 1884.

A. 1871. Annexation of Griqualand West (owing to the discovery of diamonds, 1867).

B. 1871. Cape Colony received full constitutional government.

C. The Annexation of the Transvaal.

(1) The Transvaal Republic was bankrupt; it quarrelled with the Orange Free State and with Sekukuni, chief of the Swazis, and, as all the natives were of the Bantu stock, there seemed a danger of a united native rising against European rule, especially as Cetewayo, King of the Zulus, was also inclined to attack the Boers.

(2) April 12, 1877. Sir Theophilus Shepstone proclaimed the annexation of the Transvaal, thus probably saving it from Zulu attack.

D. Sir Bartle Frere, Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner of South Africa, 1877-80.

(1) A strong supporter of the federation of South Africa, which Sir George Grey had unsuccessfully advocated in 1858 and which the annexation of the Transvaal made easier. Sent out by the Earl of Carnarvon, Colonial Secretary, mainly to promote federation.

(2) He saw that federation was impossible unless the natives were kept in check.

1877-8. Put down a revolt of the Kossas in the last Kaffir War.

1879. Declared war on Cetewayo, who refused to receive a British resident and to break up his military system. Perhaps Frere's real reason was the danger of a Zulu attack on the Transvaal and Natal.

Th. Zulu W.

- a. January, 1879. Annihilation of a British force at Isandhlwana owing to the carelessness of Lord Chelmsford, who despised the enemy and neglected to laager his waggons and to throw out scouts.
- β. January, 1879. Heroic defence of Rorke's Drift by Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead, who thus kept the Zulus out of Natal.
- γ. July 4. Lord Chelmsford routed the Zulus at Ulundi.

(3) Recall of Frere.

Lord Carnarvon's successor, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, gave Frere little support and did not understand the condition of Cape Colony. The Government (Lord Beaconsfield's) resented Frere's action in precipitating the Zulu War, although he maintained, apparently justly, that prompt action was essential to save Natal and the Transvaal. The refusal of Frere's request for reinforcements, especially cavalry, partly accounts for the disaster at Isandhlwana. Gladstone's ministry at first wished to keep Frere at the Cape in the hope that he would be able to ensure federation and in deference to the strong wish of the Queen, but he was finally recalled, August 1, 1880, and the Cape Parliament, influenced by the Boers, declared against federation.

E. Majuba.

(1) Causes of the War.

(a) The Boers strongly resented the annexation of the Transvaal, but the protests of their representatives were ignored. Sir Garnet Wolseley told the Boers that the "Vaal would flow back through the Drakenberg" before the British would give up the

(b) It was hoped that the Transvaal, which depended upon British help against the Zulus, would form part of the Federation, and the Boers were definitely promised self-government. But—

- a. The annihilation of the Zulu power made the Boers less dependent on British help.
- β. The promise of self-government was broken.
- γ. The British administrator, Sir Owen Lanyon, proved unable to conciliate the Boers or to appreciate their complaints.
- δ. The Liberal Government displayed "loitering unwisdom" (Morley) in dealing with the situation.

(2) War.

1880. December 16. "Dingaan's Day" declaration of the independence of the Transvaal.

1881. January 28. Repulse of a British force at Laing's Nek commanding the approach to Natal which the Boers had occupied.

1881. February 26. Defeat and death of General Sir George Colley on Majuba Hill, which he had seized to command Laing's Nek.

Majuba, though only a skirmish, profoundly affected the history of South Africa.

a. Colley was negotiating with the Boers, but, failing within the forty-eight hours he specified to receive an answer to his communications of February 21 (which did not reach Krüger until February 28), he occupied Majuba. Krüger, ignorant of Colley's fate, sent a conciliatory answer.

β. Gladstone regarded Colley's action as an attack on the Boers, recognised Kruger's willingness to negotiate and feared lest a continuance of the war would lead to a Dutch rising in

Cape Colony. He resolved to stop military operations, although reinforcements had been sent under Sir Frederick Roberts and although Sir Evelyn Wood, now commanding the British troops, strongly urged that British military supremacy should be asserted before peace was made.

(3) The Convention of Pretoria, March 21, 1881.

The Boers to have the right of managing the internal affairs of the Transvaal, to acknowledge the "suzerainty" of Britain, which was to control all foreign relations.

- a. There was no formal definition of what "suzerainty" implied.
- β. The peace was approved by the Cape Assembly but was condemned by the Boers, who did not ratify it until October 25. A vote of censure on the Government was easily defeated, but a number of Liberals, including Lord Kimberley, disapproved of the terms of peace.

(4) The Convention of London, February, 1884.

Lord Derby (Lord Kimberley's successor at the Colonial Office) made a new agreement in which

- a. The term "suzerainty" was dropped;
- β. The independence of the "South African Republic" was recognised.

IV. The Boer War.

A. The Transvaal, 1884-99.

- (1) 1886. Discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand, immigration of many British miners and foundation of Johannesburg.

- a. The conservative Boers, fearing the consequences of the foreign immigration, opposed the development of the gold mines.

3. President Kruger encouraged it owing to the great profits that would result.

(2) The "Outlanders."

(a) The Outlanders increased in number and by 1892 numbered 77,000, mostly British. They were required to reside in the Republic for five years (after 1890 for fourteen years) before they could obtain full citizenship, were liable to go "on commando," were heavily taxed.

1892. Formation of the Transvaal National Union to improve the condition of the Outlanders.

(b) Kruger tried to secure alliances with Germany and Holland to counteract the growing British influence and imported large quantities of arms in packages labelled "machinery."

(3) Cecil Rhodes, Premier of Cape Colony.

(a) Rhodes' great aim was the federation of South Africa under British rule.

(b) He had founded the British South Africa Company (the "Chartered Company"), 1889, and occupied Rhodesia after the Company's troops had routed the Matabele in 1893.

(c) The South African Republic was his great obstacle, and there seemed a danger of a Boer Federation of South Africa for which the "Afrikander" party under Jan Hofmeyer in Cape Colony were working, and of a Boer alliance with Germany. Rhodes therefore encouraged the disaffected Outlanders to establish British supremacy in the Transvaal and supported their plans for an armed rising.

(4) The Jameson Raid, December 31, 1895, to January 2, 1896.

Dr. Jameson¹ with six hundred troopers of the Chartered Company made for Johannesburg to pro-

¹ The administrator of Ma.

tect "the women and children." He was compelled to surrender to the Boers at Krugersdorp January 2, partly owing to the failure of the Johannesburg Outlanders to co-operate with him. A Commission of Inquiry censured Rhodes for his share in the Raid (he resigned the Premiership of Cape Colony January, 1896), but acquitted the Colonial Office of connivance.

January 3, 1896. A telegram of congratulation from the German Emperor to Krüger raised a storm of indignation in England. The Raid

- a. Ruined for a time the scheme of federation;
- β. Embittered feeling between Great Britain and Germany;
- γ. Was an important cause of the war.

(5) Negotiations with Kruger.

(a) The failure of the Raid led to more stringent restrictions on the Outlanders, who, Sir Alfred Milner declared, were "reduced to the position of helots."

(b) In response to strong pressure Kruger offered to accept seven, and ultimately five, years' residence as the qualification for the franchise if Britain would renounce all claim to "suzerainty." Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, absolutely refused to do this and war began October 11, 1899, when the Boers invaded Natal.

Public opinion in England generally favoured war owing to the restrictions on the Outlanders; but there was some strong opposition, due to the belief that the Conventions of the Sand River and Pretoria precluded us from interfering in the internal government of the Transvaal and that undue influence was exercised over the Colonial Office by South African financiers. On the Continent and in America there was much sympathy for the Boers, but the British navy rendered active intervention impossible.

The British Colonies generally supported Great Britain, although the Afrikanders of Cape Colony sympathised with the Boers, and valuable help was sent by Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

B. War.

(1) Both sides underestimated their opponents. The Boers, knowing that there were few British troops in South Africa and attaching undue importance to their victory at Majuba, expected to hold out successfully. The British Government, ignorant of the extensive military preparations of the Boers and of their exceptional ability in irregular warfare, expected a speedy victory. In consequence the ministry failed to make adequate preparations, and in the beginning of the war the British were hampered by the lack of sufficient troops, ammunition and maps, the artillery was inadequate in quality and no proper steps were taken to ensure the mobility of the forces. Largely owing to these reasons the war "cost Great Britain two and a half years of hard fighting and a hundred and fifty millions of money before a population numbering not much more than 50,000 adult males was finally reduced to subjection."

(2) Operations at first centred round four places.

(a) General Sir George White garrisoned Ladysmith to prevent the Boers from invading Natal. Ladysmith was exposed to attack from the Orange Free State and from the Transvaal, but it was thought essential to hold it lest the capture by the Boers of British territory should discourage loyalists and encourage the Zulus to rise. November, 1899, the Boers besieged Ladysmith, which General Sir Redvers Buller tried to relieve.

(b) The Boers had crossed the Orange River and occupied territory near Stormberg, in the north of

Cape Colony. General Gatacre attempted to check their advance.

(c) The Boers besieged Kimberley (in Griqualand West, to the west of the Orange Free State) and Mafeking (in Bechuanaland, to the west of the Transvaal).

(d) The "Black Week," December 10-15, 1899.

December 10. Gatacre defeated at Stormberg.

December 10-11. Methuen, attempting to relieve Kimberley, was routed at Magersfontein, where the Highland Brigade suffered severely.

December 15. Buller, attempting to cross the Tugela to relieve Ladysmith, defeated at Colenso. Consequent appointment of Lord Roberts as Commander-in-Chief, with Lord Kitchener as Chief of his Staff. The British army raised to 250,000 (the largest on record for active service), by large reinforcements of regulars, imperial yeomanry and colonial troops.

(e) January 23, 1900. Buller, who had crossed the Tugela, defeated at Spion Kop and compelled to recross.

(3) The second phase of the war. Lord Roberts captured the Boer capitals and annexed the Transvaal and Orange Free State.

(a) February 15, 1900. General French, a brilliant cavalry leader, raised the siege of Kimberley.

(b) February 27, 1900. General Cronje and 4000 men capitulated to Lord Roberts at Paardeberg on the Modder River.

(c) February 27, 1900. Buller again crossed the Tugela, defeated the Boers at Pieter's Hill, and relieved Ladysmith.

(d) March 13, 1900. Lord Roberts entered Bloemfontein. May 28. Annexation of the Orange Free State, henceforth called the "Orange River Colony."

(e) May 18, 1900. Relief of Mafeking, gallantly defended by Colonel Baden-Powell for 218 days.

(f) June 5, 1900. Owing to these successes Roberts was able to occupy Pretoria.

(g) June 11, 1900. The Transvaal army, under Louis Botha, defeated at Diamond Hill near Pretoria. September 1. Annexation of the Transvaal.

(4) The last phase of the War.

After the departure of Lord Roberts the Boers, led with great skill and daring by De Wet, carried on for about two years a guerilla warfare. Lord Kitchener checked these operations by erecting block-houses and barbed wire entanglements and ended the war.

May 31, 1902. Peace made at Vereeniging. Final annexation of the two Boer Republics.

References:

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History of Modern England, by Paul. Vol. IV, chap. III. (Macmillan.)
The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, Vol. III, chap. iv.
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From Capetown to Ladysmith, by G. W. Steevens.

BRITISH TRADE, 1800-1900

I. General

During this century trade benefited by the improvement of means of communication (page 1038), by the application to industry of science (page 1024), by the Repeal of the Corn Law (page 799), by the development of engineering.

II. Some Special Industries.

A. Textile.

(1) The improvement of machinery.

In spite of the mechanical inventions of the eighteenth century (page 629) hand looms were still largely used, especially for finer work. But manual work was largely superseded owing to the use of steam looms.

(a) 1820 (about). The introduction into England of the Jacquard loom, which made it possible to use the power loom for complex patterns and revolutionised weaving.

(b) 1826. The application of the Differential Motion to the spinning machine and the invention, about 1830, of Roberts' Self-acting Mule which revolutionised spinning.

(c) 1851. The introduction into England of Heilmann's Combing Machine which facilitated the spinning of fine cotton.

(2) The introduction of new fabrics.

(a) 1815. Beginning of the shoddy trade—the recovery of wool from rags.

(b) 1822. The spinning of jute introduced at Dundee.

(3) The nineteenth century was marked by a great expansion in the cotton trade of Lancashire, facilitated by the humid atmosphere of the county, and the woollen trade of the West Riding partly owing to the opening up of the local coalfield. But the English silk and linen trades have fallen back. (The Irish linen trade has greatly increased.)

B. Iron and steel.

(1) General.

During the nineteenth century the iron trade grew rapidly owing to the increased demand for iron (and,

later, of steel) for railways, machinery, ships, and building; to the development of the coalfields to which the iron trade was transferred; to the great reduction in carriage¹ which followed the construction of railways.

(2) The blast furnace.

1828. The production of wrought iron cheapened by the introduction of the hot blast, which reduced the amount of coal necessary for melting the ore.

1845-8. Waste furnace gas utilised for heating the blast.

1855. (Sir) Henry Bessemer found that by blowing cold air into molten cast iron the manufacture of hard steel was facilitated.

1861-7. Siemens manufactured more ductile steel by the more economical use of the furnace gases.

1874-9. By the Gilchrist process lower-grade ores were used for steel-making, and the phosphorus used was recovered in marketable condition.

C. Agriculture.

(1) Bad times, 1818-36.

(a) Up to 1815 English farmers had made large profits owing to

a. The high price of corn, due to the Napoleonic Wars and the Corn Laws;

β . The efforts of certain enlightened landlords, especially Coke of Holkham² (1752-1842), who strengthened light soil with marl, introduced oilcake, improved pasture by careful seeding and weeding, and encouraged his tenants by giving them leases instead of yearly tenancies.

γ . The Poor Law administration made labour cheap, and their large profits enabled farmers to pay the heavy rates the system involved.

¹ In the seventeenth century it cost £1 to carry a ton of goods on horse-back twenty miles.

² A few miles N. of Leicester.

(b) The rapid fall of the price of corn after 1815 ruined many farmers, impoverished landlords by the fall in rents, and checked the employment of the better methods introduced by Coke.

(2) Prosperity, 1850-65.

(a) The new Poor Law, 1834 (page 755), relieved agriculture by diminishing rates.

(b) The development of science.

α. Railways made carriage cheaper.

β. The use of deep drains made clay soils workable, and steam was used as a motive-power for farming implements.

γ. The growth of agricultural chemistry resulted, about 1835, in the discovery of the value of nitrate of soda and superphosphates as artificial manures.

δ. The foundation of agricultural colleges and societies.

1838. The Royal Agricultural Society.

1843. The Agricultural Station at Rothamsted by John Lawes.

1845. The Agricultural College at Cirencester.

(c) The rise in prices (following a fall immediately after the Repeal of the Corn Laws) due to the discovery of gold in California and Australia, and to the Crimean and American Civil wars.

(3) The decline of agriculture, 1875-1900.

(a) In spite of the further application of science to agriculture, greatly increased facilities for the study of the subject, and a considerable improvement in dairy-farming, English farmers failed to withstand foreign competition. The extension of the American railways, which opened up the corn lands of the West, the organisation of dairy-farming in Denmark, and the use of cold storage which led to the import of vast

quantities of dead meat from Australia, were the chief causes.

(b) Owing to this decline—

- a. The wheat acreage declined fifty per cent between 1860 and 1890;
- β. There has been a great fall of rents and profits.

(4) Attempts to revive agriculture.

Regret that so much of our food supply is obtained from abroad, and the recognition that agriculture is the "nursery of the bone and sinew of the country,"¹ have led to attempts to revive agriculture.

(a) Demand for the increase of small holdings.

- a. 1882. Earl Cairns' Settled Land Act facilitated the creation of small holdings by giving life tenants the power to sell or lease land.

β. 1885. "Three acres and a cow" a prominent party cry. It was thought that peasant farmers would work more efficiently for their own direct advantage than for an employer, and that the cost of farming would be diminished by the saving of much supervision.

The chances of the success of this scheme have been increased by the attempts of county councils to supply instruction in agriculture, and by the improvement in general education. Its ultimate success will depend partly upon the power of the peasant proprietors to take full advantage of modern improvements.

(b) Co-operation.

Many advocate co-operation between neighbouring farmers, which would enable them to use more costly machinery, to reduce the cost of carriage, and to get better terms for their goods.

¹ It is stated that no pure-bred Lenden family lasts more than three generations.

(c) The State ownership of land.

(d) Protection.

The name derived from the Society for the Protection of Agriculture formed in opposition to the Anti-Corn Law League.

1881. Formation of Fair Trade League to oppose Free Trade when disadvantageous to England.

1886. The Commons, without a division, negatived a motion for the revival of Protection.

May, 1903. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, anxious to strengthen the union between the Colonies and Mother Country, advocated a duty on corn, without which "it will be impossible to secure preferential treatment from the Colonies."

Mr. Chamberlain's support made Protection, or Tariff Reform, one of the leading questions of practical politics.

III. The State and Commerce.

A. Laissez faire.

(1) Laissez faire, the theory of freedom of contract and liberty of individual action, gained acceptance in England at the end of the eighteenth century, owing to the prosperity resulting from the Industrial Revolution, to Adam Smith's gospel of industrial freedom, and to the doctrine of Liberty preached by the Revolutionists in France.

(2) The "Manchester school," the followers of Cobden and Bright, accepted the theory, and the adoption of Free Trade was its greatest success.

(3) John Stuart Mill in his *Liberty* (1859) asserted that "the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self protection."

B. State interference.

(1) *Laissez faire* led to unlimited competition, and inflicted great hardships upon those who were unable to secure fair contracts, especially on women and children. It was called "the devil take the hind most doctrine," and has been repeatedly infringed by State interference with commerce in the interests of the weak. The resulting enactments have been termed by their opponents "grandmotherly legislation."

(2) The Factory Acts.

These were due originally to the intolerable hardships of the pauper children, from five to eight years old, apprenticed by workhouse authorities to manufacturers, who were enabled to use child instead of adult labour because the new machinery had simplified the work. These young children were sent in batches of from two to three hundred, often in canal boats, to the factories of Lancashire and the West Riding. Their "labour was limited only by exhaustion," their food was unwholesome and insufficient, and the conditions of their life rendered decency and morality impossible. These Acts the best examples of State interference in the nineteenth century.

1802. Sir Robert Peel's¹ Health and Morals Act.

a. Apprentices not to work *more than twelve hours a day*.

β. Apprentices to do no night work, and to receive instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic.

1833. A Factory Act due to Lord Ashley (Shaftesbury).

a. Nine fixed as the minimum age of employment.

β. "Children" under thirteen to work not more than eight hours a day, and to spend two hours a day in school. The germ of the "half-time" system.

¹ For the first of the following year.

7. "Young persons," over thirteen and under eighteen, and women not to work more than sixty-nine hours a week.

8. Provision made for Government inspection of factories.

1895. The Factory and Workshops Bill improved the sanitary condition and safety of factories and workshops, abolished overtime for young persons and provided for fixed holidays.

(3) 1892. The Eight Hours Bill.

Attempts to limit working hours to eight a day deprecated by Lord Salisbury as premature. The attempt to secure this limitation in the case of miners failed owing to the opposition by the Durham miners, and the Eight Hours Bill (which is now law) was withdrawn in 1894.

(4) Further examples of State interference with trade.

(a) Mining.

1842. Prohibition of the employment of women and children underground.

1862. Every mine to have two shafts to facilitate escape in time of danger.

(b) Shipping.

1876. The Merchant Shipping Act fixed load-lines or "Plimsoll marks,"¹ thus preventing overloading.

(c) Employers' liability.

1888. The Employers' Liability Act made employers liable for compensation to workmen injured while at work.

IV. The Working Classes in the Nineteenth Century.

A. Trade Unions.

(1) The beginning of Trade Unionism.

(a) The Industrial Revolution had led to the final break-up of mediæval labour organisations, and as the

¹ So called after Samuel Plimsoll, 1824-98, M.P. for Derby, "The Sailors' Friend."

Combination Act of 1800 forbade the formation of associations to secure higher wages or shorter hours of work the workmen were quite disorganised and at the mercy of their employers.

(b) The partial repeal of the Combination Act in 1825 made Trade Unions possible, but the influence of Chartism, aiming at political rather than economic reform, hindered the growth of the movement.

(c) 1850. Foundation of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and, shortly, of other unions, especially in the north of England. Trade Unions are combinations of workmen formed to secure better conditions than the members could obtain if they acted individually. They aimed at the establishment of a minimum rate of wages, the suppression of piecework, the limitation of hours of labour. In the last resort they enforced the demands by strikes, e.g. the Amalgamated Engineers' Strike, 1852. But the development of Trade Unions was hindered—

a. By legal difficulties.

1. Trade Unions being "in restraint of trade" were really illegal.
2. Being illegal they could not protect their funds from embezzlement by fraudulent officials.
3. Picketing, even when peaceful, was a crime.

b. By the indignation roused by the violence of some smaller unions, especially the Saw Grinders' Union at Sheffield, which was proved in 1867 to have coerced non-union men by rattening (i.e. abstracting or breaking tools), maiming, and even murder.

(2) Removal of legal disabilities.

1871. Mr. Bruce's¹ Trades Union Act recognised the legality of Trade Unions and made their officials liable to legal penalties for the misuse of union funds.

1875. Mr. Croas' Employers' and Workmen's Act made a breach of contract by a workman a ground for civil and no longer for criminal action; allowed "peaceful" picketing; declared that no action of two or more persons was a crime unless it was a crime if committed by an individual.

(3) The New Trade Unionism, 1889-1900.

(a) The older unions tended to become benefit societies rather than aggressive organisations; they consisted mainly of artisans and levied a charge of one shilling a week and thus excluded unskilled labourers, who could not afford to pay so much.

[1872. The successful foundation by Joseph Arch of the Agricultural Labourers' Union, although not strictly a Trade Union, gave an example to other labourers.]

1889. The Dockers' Strike, organised by John Burns and others, secured for London dockers sixpence instead of fivepence an hour and a minimum payment of two shillings, and led to the foundation of the Dockers' Union—a union of labourers, not artisans, with a levy of twopence per week. Unionism thus became more democratic.

(b) The New Trade Unionism tended towards State Socialism.

1890. The Trade Union Congress laid stress upon the extension of municipal functions as a means of improving social conditions. Municipalities have not only supplied baths, free libraries, and recreation grounds out of the rates, but have undertaken to supply gas, water, electric light, means of locomotion

¹ I. and A. 1870.

and workmen's dwellings. They have often accepted the idea of Trade Unionism by undertaking to pay not less than the current union rate of wages to those whom they employ.

B. Co-operation.

Co-operation is an attempt to "get rid of the antagonism of capital and labour by rendering the working man himself a capitalist." It owed much to Robert Owen (1771-1858) and practically started in 1844 with the establishment in Rochdale of the Pioneer Society founded by twenty-eight men contributing £1 apiece, buying their own supplies, and dividing profits according to the amount of their purchases. The system spread, but while co-operation as applied to the distribution of goods has proved successful it has generally failed when applied to production.

C. Growth of political power.

- (1) The Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884 extended the franchise and tended to make the working man the ultimate factor in politics.
- (2) In 1874 the first working men, both coalminers, were returned to Parliament: Alexander Macdonald as M.P. for Stafford and Thomas Burt as M.P. for Morpeth.
- (3) The Labour Party, now an important element in Parliament, owed its separate existence partly to the discontent of Trade Unionists with Mr. Gladstone's insistence on his Home Rule policy and to their inability to unite with the Conservatives. The Independent Labour Party held its first annual conference (J. Keir Hardie, M.P., President) at Bradford, 1893.
- (4) The development of local government has given to working men a considerable share in the direction of local affairs.

D. The condition of the working classes was greatly improved in the nineteenth century by the spread of education, the development of sanitation, the regulation of hours and conditions of labour, and by the action of municipalities in erecting workmen's dwellings and supplying gas, water, and means of locomotion. But at the end of the century 30·7 per cent of the population of London were living in poverty,¹ and most of the attempts to solve the problem of unemployment had failed.

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SCIENCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The development of science was one of the great features of the nineteenth century, which was marked by a vast extension of knowledge, by the recognition of great principles, by the application of science to industry, by some conflict between the ideas of theology and of the new science (especially geology), by great changes in the conditions of life which were rendered easier by new inventions. The nineteenth century was called the "Wonderful Century," owing to the growth of science.

I. Chemistry.

A. Chemistry was profoundly affected by John Dalton's discovery of the law of chemical combinations and by his assertion of the atomic theory, 1805.

B. Sir Humphry Davy (1778-1829) used in 1807 the galvanic battery in chemical experiments, and discovered the elements potassium and sodium by electrolysis, and by his analysis of oxymuriatic acid discovered the elementary character of chlorine and showed that oxygen was not a necessary constituent of all acids.

¹ i.e. failed to obtain the bare necessities for the maintenance of physical efficiency.

C. Michael Faraday, 1791-1867.

Davy's assistant. He succeeded in liquefying chlorine, and in 1825, by discovering benzol, laid the foundation of organic chemistry.

D. Chemistry gained much by use of the spectrum analysis—
Sir H. Roscoe's *Spectrum Analysis, 1867-85.*

E. Some applications of chemistry to industry.

a. 1815. Davy's safety lamp diminished the danger of mining.

β . The discovery of benzol has been followed by the rise of the coal-tar and aniline dye industries, due largely to the researches of Prof. W. H. Perkin, senr.

γ . The development of metallurgy depended upon the growth of chemistry.

1856. Bessemer steel made by passing a cold blast through liquid iron. A cheap method of making hard steel.

1876. Siemens steel, a ductile steel, used largely for shipbuilding.

δ . 1830-50. Developments of agricultural chemistry, and use of nitrate of soda and super-phosphates as artificial manures.

ϵ . Electrolysis led to the art of electro-plating.

II. Physics.

A. Light.

(1) James Young (1811-83) enunciated the undulatory theory of light as opposed to the theory that light was due to concussion.

(2) James Clerk Maxwell (1831-79), by means of the spectrum analysis, proved (1860) that the primary colours were red, green, and blue.

B. Heat.

- (1) The dynamical or mechanical theory of heat, i.e. that heat is a mode of motion, propounded by Count Rumford, 1802.
- (2) 1843. J. P. Joule's theory of the existence of a mechanical equivalent of heat became the basis of the idea of the conservation of energy.
- (3) John Tyndall published in 1863 *Heat a mode of Motion.*

C. Electricity and magnetism.

- (1) Michael Faraday. His great work was the development of electro-magnetism.
 - 1831. Discovered induced currents—the fundamental principle of the dynamo.
 - 1831-4. Stated the laws of electrolysis, by which the strength of currents may be measured.
- (2) J. Clerk Maxwell
 - Built up the mathematical theory of electricity and magnetism, and asserted that electricity and light are different aspects of vibrating ether.
- (3) Lord Kelvin
 - Enormously helped the development of physics by the electrical instruments he invented, beginning with the mirror galvanometer in 1858. It was his siphon recorder which made it possible in 1865 to receive messages sent from America by the Atlantic cable.

D. The practical application of physical discoveries.

The effects of these discoveries were far-reaching. They affected the development of the steam-engine, led to electric lighting and traction, to the telegraph and telephone (page 1042).

III. Geology.

A. 1800-25. General acceptance of the catastrophic theory of geology, i.e. that the present condition of the earth is the result of great upheavals or convulsions which have changed the face of nature.

B. 1830. Publication of Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology*. In this book, which marks the beginning of modern geology, Lyell denied the catastrophic theory, and asserted that glaciers, rivers, and other continuous forces still at work, had caused present conditions. This theory aroused the opposition of some theologians, because it was inconsistent with the scriptural story of the creation.

C. The researches of Adam Sedgwick into the geology of North Wales (1831-4) and into the Devonian rocks were most important, while Hugh Miller's *Old Red Sandstone*, published 1841, did much to popularise geology.

D. Great development of geology since 1850, including the growth of palaeontology (the study of the structure of fossils), of mineralogy, of petrology.

IV. Biology.

November 24, 1859. Publication of Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species by Natural Selection and the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Existence*.

A. This theory of evolution, involving the transmutation of species and the survival of the fittest and its adaptation to its environment, denied the "special creation" of particular species, and was therefore strongly resisted by theologians, especially by Bishop Wilberforce, who fared badly in a contest with Prof. Huxley, its strong supporter.

B. Evolution had been suggested in *Principles of Geology*, 1830, and Robert Chambers' *Vestiges of Creation*, 1844, and Herbert Spencer had accepted biological evolution in

his *Psychology*, 1855. But the *Origin of Species* first brought the theory prominently forward. It proved most suggestive, and has been generally confirmed by subsequent scientific discoveries. The recognition that evolution cannot dispense with the need of a First Cause has tended to lessen the opposition of theologians.

V. Medicine.

A. Vaccination.

- (1) 1798. Dr. Edward Jenner (1749-1823) announced his discovery of vaccination as a preventive against smallpox.
- (2) 1853. Vaccination made compulsory in England, but there has been considerable opposition, and an Anti-Vaccination Society was formed in London in 1870, and "conscientious objectors" received legal exemption in 1898.
- (3) But the number of deaths from smallpox (which in London in 1723 caused one out of every fourteen deaths) has greatly diminished since 1798, and this diminution is generally ascribed by doctors to vaccination.

B. The nervous system.

1811. Sir Charles Bell, in his *Anatomy of the Brain*, distinguished between motor and sensory nerves, and his discovery had a great influence on medical practice.

C. Surgery.

November 10, 1847. Chloroform used in Edinburgh by Dr. (afterwards Sir) James Y. Simpson. The use of anaesthetics together with the wider knowledge of anatomy and physiology led to a great development of surgery, the danger of which was diminished by the use of antiseptics by Sir Joseph (afterwards Lord) Lister.

1870

D. The practice of medicine has been greatly affected by—

- α. The introduction of the stethoscope (about 1821) and of the clinical thermometer (about 1844) and the use of percussion, which have greatly facilitated diagnosis.
- β. The more accurate and extended knowledge of drugs, due largely to the development of chemistry.
- γ. The development of bacteriology.

January 21, 1870. Professor John Tyndall expounded the "germ theory" in his lecture to the Royal Institution on "Dust and Disease."

SOME RELIGIOUS QUESTIONS

I. The Oxford Movement.

A. Causes.

(1) The policy of the Reformed Parliament.

The Bishops had opposed reform and strongly resented the claim of the Reformed Parliament, which included Scotch Presbyterians and Irish Roman Catholics, to control the Anglican Church.

1833. Parliament abolished ten Irish bishoprics.

1833. Parliament gave to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council appellate jurisdiction in ecclesiastical cases.

1836. Parliament rearranged several English dioceses and readjusted ecclesiastical endowments.

1836. The nomination by Lord Melbourne of Dr. Hampden (suspected of heretical opinions in regard to the authority of the Anglican Church as the final interpreter of Holy Scripture) as Professor of Divinity at Oxford raised great opposition, and was regarded as

a proof that the liberal secularism of the Whigs endangered the Anglican Church.

- (2) Owing largely to Scott's novels there was a growing interest in mediæval history. This led to an attempt to reconcile the doctrines and ceremonies of the Anglican Church with those of the Middle Ages, and thus strengthened the idea of the continuity of that Church from apostolic times.
- (3) It was feared that the growth of Latitudinarianism and Rationalism, due largely to German theological investigations, within the Anglican Church had impaired its doctrines, which seemed further endangered by the development of science, especially geology (page 1027).
- (4) Although many Evangelical laymen (e.g. Wilberforce) had done noble work, there were too many "Greek play bishope" and clergy, remarkable more for learning than earnestness, and nicknamed the "High and Dry school."

B. The objects of the Oxford Movement.

- (1) Although originally it aimed at averting "the danger of the people becoming Romanist from ignorance of Church principles," it tended to become an "attempt to approximate the English Church to the perfect catholicity of Rome" (Dean Church).
 - a. Newman found in Roman Catholicism the foundation of ecclesiastical authority, which he refused to derive from Parliament, and tried to reconcile Anglican doctrines with those of Rome.
 - β. The Tractarians denied that the Reformation was a break of ecclesiastical continuity and maintained that Anglican clergymen were in the Apostolic Succession.
 - γ. Some, while remaining within the Anglican Church, doubted the validity of Anglican Orders.

(2) To check Latitudinarianism, to restore discipline, and to use a more ornate ritual.

C. The course of the movement.

The Oxford Movement was not a lay but a clerical movement, although it gained the sympathy of some prominent laymen, especially Gladstone. It was concerned with questions of the authority and historical continuity of the Church, rather than with fundamental problems of religion.

(1) The first phase.

It was due to a band of Oxford men (especially three fellows of Oriel: John Keble, 1792-1866; John Henry Newman, 1801-90; Edward Bouverie Pusey, 1800-82).

(a) July 14, 1833. Keble's University sermon on "National Apostasy" initiated the movement, although his *Christian Year*, published in 1827, had prepared the way.

(b) 1841. Tract Ninety.

The promoters of the movement were called Tractarians, from the *Tracts for the Times*, in which they stated their views. In Tract Ninety Newman tried "to bring out the old Catholic truth" contained in the Thirty-nine Articles which, he maintained, had been misrepresented and misunderstood by Protestant theologians. By this publication "Newman placed himself outside the Church of England in point of spirit and sympathy" (Gladstone).

(c) 1845 Newman, partly owing to the repudiation of Tract Ninety by the bishops and by the University of Oxford, partly because he had become convinced that the Church of Rome "is the Catholic Church and ours is not a branch of the Catholic Church because not in communion with Rome," was received into the Church of Rome, the infallibility of which he accepted.

(d) Some early effects of the movement.

The teaching of the Tractarians and the conversion of Newman to Roman Catholicism roused fierce opposition from the Evangelical party, the Latitudinarians, and the "High and Dry" schools. Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, denounced the Tractarians as "idolaters." The movement—

- a. Led to the development of the Latitudinarian or Broad Church party, who aimed at comprehension rather than cohesion, tended towards Rationalism and [notably Thomas Hughes,¹ Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-72), and Charles Kingsley] did much philanthropic work on unsectarian lines.

1860. The publication of *Essays and Reviews*, to which Jowett, Temple,² and Mark Pattison contributed, and which was an attempt to reconcile Christian doctrines with the teaching of science, was the most famous publication of this party.

- β. Tended to embitter politics, especially in the cases of the Maynooth Grant, 1845 (page 795), and the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, 1851 (page 838).

(2) The second phase. The growth of the High Church party.

- (a) The High Church party remained members of the Anglican Church, accepted the idea of the continuity of the Church from apostolic times and of the apostolic succession of its bishops. It relied "on an appeal to reality, experience, and history as to the characteristics of the traditional and actually existing English Church" (Dean Church). The *Guardian*, founded

¹ Author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*.

² Afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

1846, strongly maintained the High Church cause, which was weakened by the fact that Palmerston who cared nothing for religion, left the administration of ecclesiastical patronage to Lord Shaftesbury, who nominated Evangelical clergymen to vacancies in the Church.

(b) The High Church party favoured ornate ritual and resented the control of Parliament over the Church. Much excitement caused by the progress of "Ritualism."

1850. The Gorham Case. The Privy Council asserted that the Rev. G. C. Gorham's Calvinistic opinions as to baptismal regeneration were no bar to his institution to a living in the diocese of Exeter.

Owing to the resentment at this exercise of lay authority over the Church, Archdeacon Manning¹ joined the Roman Catholic Church.

1866. Lord Derby's Commission deprecated any change from the custom of three hundred years in ritual and ornament.

1868. The Privy Council, in the case of the Rev. A. H. Mackonochie, of St. Alban's, Holborn, declared the illegality of incense, the mixed cup at Holy Communion, kneeling before the elements, and the use of altar lights.

1874. The Public Worship Regulation Act authorised the prosecution of clergymen for ritualistic practices before a lay judge.

This Act has not been rigidly enforced, and the Privy Council's decision of 1868 has not prevented the use of incense, etc., by many Anglican clergymen.

(c) One of the most important results of the Oxford Movement was the increase in the professional zeal of the clergy. High Church clergymen differ from the pioneers of the movement—who took little part in philanthropic and social work—in their efforts to im-

¹ * * * was Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, and Cardinal.

prove the condition of the poorest classes in our great cities.

(d) At the same time the movement has been adversely criticised. "Whatever may be the good that it brought with it, by its reactionary character, by the offence which it gave to minds of Protestant tendencies, and by the separation which it evidently implied between the secular and religious life of the nation, it raised a fresh difficulty in the way of re-establishing a really national Church" (F. Bright).

II. The Disruption of the Church of Scotland.

A. The right of lay patrons to present ministers.

(1) The right of congregations to object to the presentation to livings of ministers by patrons and of presbyteries¹ to disallow the presentation had fallen into disuse, and congregations were compelled to accept the patron's nominee.

(2) The "Nonintrusionists" objected to the "intrusion" of ministers contrary to the wishes of the congregations, and, on the motion of Dr. Chalmers (1834), the Veto Act was passed by the General Assembly. This compelled presbyteries to reject nominees of lay patrons on the objection of members of the congregation even though no ground of objection was stated.

α. This applied to nominees of lay patrons only, not to ministers nominated by presbyteries, to whom the right of presentation sometimes lapsed.

β. It limited the authority of the Presbytery.

γ. The rejection of ministers without statement of reasons seemed unjust.

¹ Associations of ministers and ruling elders, equal in power, office, and

B. The jurisdiction of law courts in ecclesiastical cases.

(1) The Nonintrusionists, like the Tractarians, objected to the reference of ecclesiastical cases to law courts.

(2) 1838. The Auchterarder case.

The House of Lords, on appeal, confirmed the decision of the Court of Session which had ordered the presbytery of Auchterarder to accept as minister Mr. Young, presented by Lord Kinnoul, in spite of a protest from the congregation. The House of Lords declared the Veto Act illegal.

(3) The Strathbogie case.

(a) Mr. Edwards, presentee to the parish of Marnoch, obtained a decision from the Court of Session requiring the presbytery of Strathbogie to accept him in spite of objections of the congregation.

(b) The General Assembly prohibited the presbytery from obeying the order of the Court of Session, and, on their complying with the order, superseded them from their clerical duties. Thus the question of the right of presentation had become a question of the authority of the civil government over the Church.

C. The disruption.

1842. The General Assembly sent two addresses to the Crown, one protesting against "the encroachments of the Court of Session," the other demanding the abolition of lay patronage. Unfavourable answer sent by the Crown.

May 18, 1843. Secession of 395 ministers who formed the Free Church of Scotland.

III. Nonconformists.**A. Removal of legal disabilities.**

(1) 1828. Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts (page 741).

(2) Church rates.

1853. Decision, in the case of the vestry at Braintree, Essex, that the approval of a majority of the parishioners, whatever their religious views, was necessary for the legal levy of a Church rate.

1868. Abolition by Gladstone of compulsory Church rates.

(3) The Universities.

1871. Abolition of theological tests at Oxford and Cambridge.

a. Theological tests abolished for professors, tutors, fellows and scholars.

β . The theological faculty was confined to members of the Anglican Church, which remained the official religion of the University and the Colleges.

(4) Burials Act.

1880. Burials to take place in parish churchyards, either without any religious service or with a form of service of which the mourners approved.

(5) Marriages.

1836. Marriages in Nonconformist chapels were legalised.

B. Some developments in the nineteenth century.

(1) Both the Congregational and Baptist bodies have recognised the need of the closer union of their own churches, each of which is nominally independent.

1832. Formation of the Congregational Union of England and Wales.

(2) The Wesleyans have given greater power to the laity in the management of their Church affairs.

1797. Dissident Methodists founded the Methodist New Connection on the refusal of the Wesleyan Conference to allow laymen to attend the Conference.

1807. Formation of the Primitive Methodists by Hugh Bourne and William Clowes, owing to the prohibition by the Wesleyan Conference of their open-air meetings.

1877. The recognition of the right of laymen to be represented in the Conference, which was attended by 240 ministers and 240 laymen.

(3) 1820-30. The growth of the Plymouth Brethren, who opposed all ecclesiastical systems, and believed that the second coming of Christ was at hand.

C. Nonconformists and politics.

Nonconformists have generally been Liberals (although the Wesleyans have included more Conservatives than other denominations), and strongly supported Gladstone, although some of the more influential opposed Home Rule. They have taken a particularly strong line on two questions—

(1) The Disestablishment of the Established Church.

1885. Gladstone lost some support from the Nonconformists owing to his declaration that the Disestablishment of the Established Church in England was outside the sphere of practical politics. The principle of Disestablishment for Wales was generally accepted by Liberals. But Welsh Disestablishment lost ground owing to the split in the Liberal party, and the inclusion of Home Rule and many other questions in the overweighted Newcastle programme, 1893.

(2) Opposition to the payment of public money to voluntary schools on the ground that they are not subject to full popular control.

1870. Many Nonconformists objected to Forster's attempt "to complete the voluntary system and to fill up gaps," and regarded it "as erecting new difficulties in the way of religious equality" (Dale).

1897. Nonconformists unsuccessfully opposed the Voluntary Schools Act giving additional grants to voluntary schools, but secured a similar measure of relief for necessitous Board Schools.

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- A. *An Introduction to the History of the Church of England*, by H. O. Wakeman, chap. xx. (Rivingtons.)
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- Apologia pro Vita Sua*, by Cardinal Newman.
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MEANS OF COMMUNICATION, 1800-1900

I. At the End of the Eighteenth Century.

A. Roads.

Turnpike roads, the only means of communication, were first made in 1663, but remained "execrably bad" until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Ruts were sometimes four feet deep; and in 1760 the journey from Edinburgh to London took sixteen days. Highwaymen added to the danger of travelling, especially on the Great North and Bath roads (notably on Hounslow Heath).

B. Canals.

The construction of canals by Brindley and others had greatly facilitated the Industrial Revolution.

C. Postage.

The delivery of letters was uncertain, costly, and slow, although the institution of mail coaches (the first ran between London and Bath, 1784) improved the service greatly.

II. The Improvement of Roads

- A. The development of engineering led to a great improvement in road-mending and making.
 - c. 1819. Invention of macadamising by John Macadam.
 - c. 1840. Wood and asphalt paving were introduced.
 - 1868. First use of steam-rollers in London.
- B. The gradual removal of tolls made travelling cheaper.
 - 1843. Destruction of toll bars by Rebecca's daughters¹ in South Wales. Private toll bars lasted longer than public. Five toll bars still (1910) obstruct the approach to Middlesbrough.
- C. The control of main roads is now vested in County Councils (established 1888), that of other roads in Rural District Councils (established 1894).

III. Steam.

A. Railways.

(1) Construction.

(a) George Stephenson (1781-1848), the son of a Northumberland collier, constructed the Stockton and Darlington Railway, 1825, the Manchester and Liverpool Railway, 1830 (on which his engine the Rocket, equipped with tubular boilers and running thirty miles an hour, was used). Stephenson adopted the 4 feet 8½ inch gauge of the Newcastle coal tram road for his railways.

(b) Isambard Brunel commenced the Great Western Railway, 1833, using a broad gauge of 7 feet;

(c) The Midland Railway Bill, 1863. Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire (now Great Central) Railway Bill, 1893.

¹ So called from Genesis xxiv. 60—Rebecca's seed shall “possess the gates of those which hate them.”

(2) State regulation.

Parliament has steadily maintained its right to control railways and denied that railway companies have any vested rights.

(a) 1840. Owing to the railway panic of 1836 the general regulation of railways was vested in the Board of Trade.

(b) 1844. The "Cheap Trains" Act compelled railways to carry third-class passengers in covered carriages for a penny a mile and gave the Government the option of purchasing railways in twenty-one years.

a. The third-class traffic proved most lucrative.

1875. Abolition of second-class carriages by the Midland Railway, since generally followed by other companies.

β. In spite of the monopolies enjoyed by railways the option of purchase has not been exercised by Parliament, possibly because its controlling power is acknowledged.

(c) 1873. Appointment of a Railway Commission to interpret Acts of Parliament.

(3) 1845-6. The Railway Mania, with which George Hudson the "Railway King" was connected, led to wild speculation and great losses.

(4) Improvements in working.

(a) 1853. The block system introduced.

(b) 1875. Adoption on the Midland Railway of the Westinghouse air-pressure brake.

(c) 1881. Double-expansion engines adopted for London and North Western Railway locomotives.

(d) 1890. Opening of the City and South London Electric Railway.

(e) 1892. The Great Western Railway broad gauge replaced by the narrow gauge.

- a. The end of the "Battle of the Gauges."
- β. The interchange of traffic between all companies was thus made possible.

(5) The development of electricity has led to the great extension of electric trams, which have proved serious competitors with railways for suburban traffic. The adoption by railway companies of electric autocars for short distances and the institution of services of motor buses to connect outlying districts with the railways have not made up for the loss of revenue due to the competition of electric cars.

B. Steamboats.

(1) The beginning of Atlantic and other liners.

[1812. The *Comet*, a steamboat built by Henry Bell, plied for hire on the Clyde.]

1819. The *Savannah*, depending partly on steam, sailed from New York to Liverpool in twenty-six days.

1838. The *Great Western*, depending wholly on steam, sailed from Bristol to New York in fifteen days.

1840. Foundation of the Peninsular and Oriental and Cunard lines.

(2) Increase in speed due to—

(a) The adoption of screw propellers (patented by Smith and Ericson, 1836).

(b) 1856. The adoption of compound (and later triple expansion) engines made longer voyages possible.

(c) Improvement in the boilers.

(d) The use of iron and, later, steel for the hulls of ships.

(e) The use of turbines.

By 1885 the voyage from Liverpool to New York was reduced to seven days.

The construction of the Suez Canal, opened 1869, and the use of steam shortened the voyage from England to India from three months to about three weeks.

IV. Canals, Bridges.

A. Canals.

Thomas Telford constructed the Ellesmere (1793-1805) and Caledonian canals.

B. Bridges.

1818-25. Telford's Menai Bridge—the first suspension bridge in England.

1846-50. The Britannia Tubular Bridge built by Robert Stephenson over the Menai Straits.

1864. The Clifton Suspension Bridge, designed by Isambard Brunel 1831, opened.

1883-9. The Forth Bridge built on the cantilever principle.

1886-94. The Tower Bridge, built with a draw-bridge or bascule.

V. The Telegraph and Telephone.

A. The telegraph.

The telegraph was rendered possible owing to the development of the dynamo, which facilitated the generation of electricity in large quantities.

1837. Wheatstone and Cooke's magnetic needle telegraph.

1865. Completion of the Atlantic cable.

The siphon recorder of Thomson (Lord Kelvin) made it possible to receive the messages which were too feeble to be recorded by earlier instruments.

1869. The telegraph became a Government monopoly and was put under the control of the Post Office.

1885. Introduction of sixpenny telegrams.

B. The telephone.

1877. Professor Graham Bell's articulating telephone produced in the United States.

1879. A telephone exchange (Edison's system) in Lombard Street.

1880. Union of Bell and Edison's companies as the United Telephone Company.

1890-2. The telephone in general use.

VI. The Post Office.

A. The reform of the Postal Service, 1839.

(1) The old system was costly and inconvenient.

a. Postage was payable on delivery and the cost was heavy, the postage of a letter from London to Brighton being eightpence.

B. The revenue suffered.

1. Payment of postage was frequently evaded.

2. Many letters were "franked" by members of Parliament who, by writing their names on the covers of their own and their friends' letters, ensured free delivery.

(2) In spite of opposition a Bill, based on the suggestions made by Rowland Hill (1837) in his pamphlet on Post Office Reform, was carried. This provided—

That there should be a uniform rate of postage of fourpence per half-ounce, reduced to one penny on January 10, 1840.

Adhesive postage stamps came into use and the right of franking was abolished.

(3) The reduction in the cost of postage led to an enormous increase in the number of communications and consequently in the revenue. The deliveries of letters and papers rose from 124,000 in 1839 to over 5,000,000,000 (including parcels) for the year ending March 31, 1909.

(4) Trade benefited greatly, and cheap postage was one of the chief reasons for the development in international communications which marked the nineteenth century.

B. Subsequent extension of the work of the Post Office.

1861. The establishment of Post Office Savings Banks, which later undertook insurance and annuities.

1870. Postcards were introduced.

1881. Postal orders were first issued.

1883. The parcel post was established.

VII. Some Results of Improved Means of Communication.

A. A closer connection than was possible in the eighteenth century between Great Britain and the colonies. "An Imperial Parliament sitting at Westminster" is no longer a physical impossibility, and our sense of duty to dependent peoples has been strengthened by the more accurate knowledge of their conditions due to greater facilities of communication.

B. A rise in the standard of living owing to the cheap carriage of foreign goods.

C. The decline of agriculture owing to the competition of foreign corn, meat, and dairy produce.

D. The further migration from the country to the towns.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

I. The Beginning of Government Control.

A. In the first half of the century the idea of education as a national duty did not exist. The Conservatives held that the Church of England alone should control education, many Liberals thought that it should be left to private enterprise, and there was a strong feeling against elementary education, which it was thought would make the poor discontented with their lot. The efforts of Lords John Russell and Brougham led to a change of policy.

B. 1833. £20,000 granted to the Anglican National Society and to the unsectarian British and Foreign Bible Society to meet part of the cost of existing schools. The beginning of annual grants.

The Church of England obtained the larger share of the grant, which did nothing to help poor districts in which no school existed.

C. 1839. Appointment of the Committee of Privy Council on Education, increase in the grant and establishment of official inspection.

The Committee was the basis of the modern system of elementary education.

D. 1847. Lord John Russell "diminished the empire of ignorance" by the establishment of the pupil-teacher system.

II. The Revised Code, 1862.

A. 1861. Newcastle's Committee reported most unfavourably on the state of elementary education. Only about one-tenth of children of school age became proficient in reading, writing and arithmetic. Inspectors had to be approved by archbishops. Clever pupils received undue attention.

B. 1862. Lowe's Revised Code provided that henceforth grants should be capitation grants: one-third for attendance, two-thirds for proficiency in reading, writing, and arithmetic, which were to be tested by the examination of individual scholars.

a. Lowe's object was to ensure adequate treatment for all scholars.

b. Although religious instruction was made compulsory in Church of England schools, the clergy objected to the Code on the ground that it attached too much importance to secular subjects.

c. The new system of "payment by results" tended to make teaching mechanical.

III. Forster's Education Act, 1870.

A. Although the voluntary subscriptions of about 200,000 people (supplemented by Government grants) had led to the extension of voluntary schools, the supply of elementary education was quite inadequate and only about half the children of school age were receiving instruction. Forster wished to "complete the voluntary system and to fill up the gaps" and "to cover the country with good schools."

B. The Bill (as amended in Committee).

- (1) School boards, elected in municipal boroughs and country parishes by the cumulative vote of ratepayers voting by ballot,¹ to erect "board schools" to meet any deficiencies not met by voluntary effort.
- (2) School boards to levy local rates to meet part of the cost of board but not voluntary schools. The latter to receive double the Government grant formerly paid to them.
- (3) Denominational teaching to be continued in voluntary schools, but the rights of objecting parents to be safeguarded by a "conscience clause." In board schools the Bible to be taught, but no catechism or formulary of any religious denomination. "The Cowper-Temple Clause."
- (4) Fees to be paid by parents, but school boards were empowered to remit fees and to establish free schools in poor districts.
- (5) The age of attendance raised to thirteen.
- (6) London to have one School Board.²

C. Criticism.

- (1) The Bill aggravated religious strife.

Although Forster wished to maintain voluntary schools, the clergy opposed his Bill on the ground

¹ The first application of the ballot to public elections.

² I read I whence the first c' is

that rate aid would give the undenominational Board schools an unfair advantage over voluntary schools.

The Nonconformists strongly objected to the increased grant to voluntary schools, which Gladstone strongly supported. The National Education League, founded in Birmingham, 1869, and including Joseph Chamberlain, John Morley, Harcourt, and Rev. R. W. Dale, strongly advocated a national system of "free compulsory and secular" education.

But the struggle was really ecclesiastical rather than religious, and social rather than educational.

- (2) The new system proved very costly, and Forster's prophecy that rates would never exceed threepence in the pound proved ludicrously incorrect.
- D. The Bill did not establish a national system or settle the religious difficulty, and the Government, while giving to local authorities the right of compelling attendance, shrank from universal compulsion. But Forster rendered a great service to the nation by giving to every child the chance of securing efficient elementary education.

IV. Compulsory Education, 1880.

1880. Mundella's Bill made elementary education compulsory.

V. Free Education, 1891.

April 23, 1891. A grant of 10s. per head (on the basis of a fee payment of threepence per week) made for every scholar between the ages of five and fifteen, to replace fees paid by parents.

a. Fees were still allowed in schools where the weekly payments were more than threepence.

3. Thus by 1891¹ two of the objects of the Birmingham League had been secured, and free education was largely due to the influence of

Chamberlain and the Liberal Unionists, to whom the Conservative Government was under a heavy obligation.

γ. The Bill passed without difficulty, although some maintained that free education was a socialistic measure and tended to weaken parental responsibility.

VI. The Voluntary Schools Bill, 1897.

A. Abolition of the limit of Government grant to 17s. 6d. and payment of 5s. per head to voluntary schools.

B. Strong opposition of Liberals, especially Nonconformists, to the grant of public money to institutions not under public control. Their efforts secured a similar grant to necessitous board schools.

VII. The Board of Education, 1899.

Establishment of the Board of Education to take over the work of the Education Department and the Department of Science and Art. The Board of Education has done something—

α. To establish a uniform system of elementary education ;

β. To co-ordinate primary and secondary education.

PUBLIC HEALTH, 1800-1900

A. Sanitation.

(1) "There was no sanitary measure upon the statute books at the time of the Queen's accession" (*Social England*), and the utter ignorance of sanitation was the main cause of the high death-rate, especially in the towns which had grown greatly owing to the Industrial Revolution.

(2) Legislation.

1846. Act for Removal of Nuisances.

1846-7. Baths and Washhouses Act.

1848. Public Health Act and appointment of a General Board of Health to carry it out.

1872. This duty devolved upon the Local Government Board.

1851-3. Common Lodging Houses Act.

These Acts have been amended and extended by subsequent legislation.

(3) The disposal of sewage.

1847-65. A new system of drainage for London constructed by the Metropolitan Board of Works.

B Water.

The provision of pure water was gradually secured, e.g. for Manchester from Thirlmere and Liverpool from Lake Vyrnwy.

1902. The London Water Board superseded the companies which supplied London with water.

C. The development of medicine (page 1028) promoted public health.

D. Owing to the above causes the average duration of life was lengthened. It was estimated that improved sanitation saved 500,000 lives in fifty years, and the death-rate fell rapidly. Typhus disappeared, smallpox decreased and the danger from typhoid and diphtheria has been diminished, but cancer and consumption still claim many victims.

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